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TOWARDS A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE POETRY
OF
JUAN ALFONSO DE BAENA

BY

© **PAUL ANDRÉ BÉLANGER, M.A.**

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

IN

HISPANIC LITERATURES

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **TOWARDS A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE POETRY OF JUAN ALFONSO DE BAENA** submitted by **PAUL ANDRÉ BÉLANGER** in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY** in **HISPANIC LITERATURES**.

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28 March 1994

ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents a new reading and transcription of the poems of Juan Alfonso de Baena as found in the facsimile of the Cancionero de Baena manuscript published by the Hispanic Society of America in 1926. It is meant not only as a research tool, but also as a complement to the work begun in my study of Baena's poetry which I defended as my master's thesis in 1986.

The preliminary chapters present a biographical sketch of what little we know about the poet and extensive discussion of the manuscript and previous published editions of the Cancionero de Baena. The criteria followed in transcribing the poems from the manuscript are established and the problems encountered in resolving manuscript abbreviations are also examined.

The order of the poems is that of Hispanic manuscript no. 37 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Each poem is presented with its rubric and finida intact. In the case of debate poetry, we have chosen to present the poems of Baena's poetic rivals as well, since their content directly affects the response that Baena gave in the following poem. Thus, this edition also presents new readings of poems by Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino, Ferrant Manuel de Lando, Rodrigo de Harana, and others.

Footnotes in the poetic text present variant readings found in the Ochoa-Pidal edition of 1851, the Michel edition of 1860, the Anaconda edition of 1949, and the Azáceta edition of 1966. They also discuss specific textual problems encountered in the transcription of the manuscript.

Asterisks in the poetic text refer the reader to our Lexicographical Notes following the poetic text. An index preceding the Bibliography lists all words and phrases to be found in the Lexicographical Notes. They highlight the many interesting lexicographical problems encountered by the student of Castilian poetry of the mid-fifteenth century.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Several people played either a direct or indirect role in the writing of this dissertation and it is only fitting that their contribution be recognized.

I was very fortunate to come under the supervision of Dr. Claudine Potvin shortly after my arrival at the University of Alberta. I was familiar with her work from my master's thesis, but did not know where she was teaching. I did three courses under her during my Ph.D. program. Probably my favourite was the course she gave on medieval literature in which we studied *Poema de mío Cid*, *Libro de buen amor*, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, and *La Celestina*. Her approach to these works was both refreshing and challenging, provided me with new tools with which to study them, and taught me that nothing is ever written in stone. Even though the paths our lives were taking diverged for a while, I am very glad they re-converged in the final year of preparing this dissertation. Merci, Claudine!

Dr. Richard Young, my principal supervisor, was a constant source of support and encouragement in all my years at the University of Alberta and another person from whom I learned many valuable skills. As well, he always had time for me whenever I sought his advice on a variety of issues both academic and career-related. In the final months of this dissertation, when we were in the correction stage, he also took on the role of coach, reminding me ever so gently that the end was not far and that all that was needed was one final, small push. Many thanks, Richard!

I would have never got this far had it not been for the professors under whose influence I came during my undergraduate and master's programs. These include Drs. Rosa Garrido and Dawn Smith of Trent University, who encouraged me to do graduate studies, and Drs. José Jurado, Christopher Marsden, and Francisco Hernández of Carleton University, my mentors during my master's years, under whose guidance I developed many of the skills necessary to write this dissertation.

Finally, I owe it all to my mum, Patricia, and my dad, Jean-Maurice, whose years of hard work made my initial university education possible, and whose steadfast belief in me kept me going through thick and thin.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

In the case of abbreviated journal titles, please consult the Bibliography for the full citation.

Anac	Anaconda (Buenos Aires) edition of 1949
Aut.	*Diccionario de autoridades*
Az	Azáceta edition of 1966
CB	*Cancionero de Baena*
DCECH	Corominas y Pascual, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*
Espasa 1	*Diccionario enciclopédico Espasa 1*
fol.	folio
Gram. hist.	R. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de gramática histórica española*
l., ll.	line, lines
LBA	*Libro de buen amor*
Mich	Michel edition of 1860
MS	manuscript
Pid	Pidal edition of 1851
r	recto (in reference to folios)
v	verso (in reference to folios)
Wortschatz	Schmid, *Der Wortschatz des "Cancionero de Baena"*

I. Introduction

A. Justification of the Chosen Text

In preparing a critical edition of any medieval text, one is usually faced with the daunting task of searching for all possible manuscripts where that text might be found. Fortunately, in the case of the poetic works of Juan Alfonso de Baena, this task does not prove to be as daunting as most. The great majority of Baena's poems--eighty-one of eighty-three known compositions--appear in the unique manuscript now known as the Cancionero de Baena found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Hispanic Ms. 37). Another poem, which is included with a number of "obras de burlas provocantes a risa" is found in Hernando del Castillo's Cancionero General (Valencia, 1511). It is a burlesque poem written in reply to another composition by Juan Agraz ridiculing a certain Juan Marmolejo and is headed by a rubric which reads "Reparo y satisfación de Juan Marmolejo contra Juan Agraz por Juan Alonso de Vaena" (fols. 232v-233v). Finally, there is Baena's most famous composition, commonly known as the "Dezir que fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena", which begins with the lines "Para rey tan exçelente / pertenesçe tal presente". This is part of a manuscript known as the Cancionero de Román, o de Gallardo (2-7-2 Ms 2; old fols. 33r-43v; new fols. 5r-15v) preserved in the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. Another very brief fragment of this extensive poem is apparently found in the Cancionero de Palacio (Biblioteca Real; Old Ms. VII-D-4; New Ms. 593) under the heading "Desir que envio Juan de Baena al Señor Rey sobre las discordias por que manera podian ser remediadas" (Azáceta, vol. 1, p. xi-xii, n. 25).[1]

---

[1] There seems to be major disagreement over the location of this fragment. Azáceta quotes this MS ("Cancionero de Palacio") as being found in the Biblioteca Real: "Creemos que dicho manuscrito es el designado sucesivamente en dicha Biblioteca con las signaturas VII-D-4 y actual 593. Para Mussafia fue el X^b o X^2 y en nuestra nomenclatura, adaptada a las exigencias actuales de este campo de la investigación, Pal..." (vol. 1, pp. xi-xii, n. 25).

On the other hand, Brian Dutton, in his Catálogo-índice de la poesía cancioneril del siglo XV (Madison, 1982; vol. 1, p. 139, no. 0285; vol. 2, p. 10, no. 0285; vol. 2, p. 235, no. SA10), indicates that the manuscript containing that same poetic fragment is found in the Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca (vol. 1, p. 134), in the form of two cancioneros bound in one.

Having obtained a copy of the folios according to Dutton's references, I am more inclined to accept Azáceta's indication of the source, since my photocopy does not contain these verses. Either Dutton made an error in his referencing, or the Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca photocopied the wrong folios, even though my folios show the proper numbering according to Dutton's reference. Needless to say, this problem calls for further investigation.

Over the course of the past 140 years, several editions of the Cancionero de Baena have been published, all with different critical approaches. The most recent one, published in three volumes in 1966 and prepared by José María Azáceta, with an appendix containing Baena's socio-political decir to King Juan II, claimed to present the complete works of Juan Alfonso de Baena:

> Consideramos interesante la publicación de este texto, el más importante sin duda alguna de Baena, como apéndice a su Cancionero, para que no quede incompleta la obra del recopilador. (vol. 3, p. 1151n.)

But, although he mentions the existence of Baena's "Reparo y satisfación" found in Hernando del Castillo's 1511 edition of the Cancionero general, he fails to include it in his appendix. If one is to consider the Cancionero itself as one of Baena's "works", in the broadest sense, then Azáceta has almost succeeded in his task. Still, this opus lacks a critical depth that it would otherwise have were Baena's actual poetic works presented in a format separate from the Cancionero corpus as a whole. Such has been the case, for example, with the poetry of another fifteenth-century poet, Micer Francisco Imperial, the most recent edition of whose works has been prepared by Colbert Nepaulsingh (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1977).

Baena's works have not been ignored by literary critics, but neither have they been viewed, until recently, under the objective light that is their due. José Amador de los Ríos dedicated several pages to the court scribe's poetry in his Historia de la literatura española published in 1865. While praising it for its exemplary prosody, he characterizes most of the poems as "deslustradas en general, así por la incontinencia y poca urbanidad de sus chistes, como por la excesiva humillación de sus demandas pecuniarias" (vol. 6, p. 147). And his views, in conjunction with the now infamous remarks of Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo that the Cancionero de Baena "contiene muchos versos y muy poca poesía" (vol. 1, p. 372) and no less disparaging remarks by other reputable critics, have no doubt served to prejudice the thoughts and tastes of many students of fifteenth-century Castilian court lyric, of which Baena's verse is highly representative.[1] Not until recent years have critics adopted a more objective approach, examining the works of Baena and his contemporaries in their social, historical, and political context. Yet no critic has attempted to produce a critical edition of the poetic works of Baena himself.

---

[1] Rennert called the poets of the Cancionero de Baena "mere rimatori" (p.3), while Valverde referred to them disparagingly as "profesionales a sueldo" (p. 42). Valbuena Prat downplays the literary value of the Cancionero, stating that its poets have "un carácter exclusivamente arqueológico" (p. 219n.).

Baena's entire literary corpus is by no means scarce, although it must be admitted that were it not for his Cancionero we should only have two of his poems at our disposal. Certainly the royal secretary must have been aware of this upon compiling his anthology, for he seems to imply in the rubric introducing his works that he has included his entire poetic production up to that time, thus ensuring its survival:

> Aquí se comiençan las canticas e dezires e preguntas e rrequestas que fizo e ordenó en su tienpo Johan Alfonso de Baena, escrivano del rey, actor e conponedor e copilador d'este pressente libro...
> (Azáceta vol. 3, p. 810)[1]

The present dissertation is entitled Towards a Critical Edition of the Poetry of Juan Alfonso de Baena. In it, we offer a new transcription and revised punctuation of all of Baena's short poetic works except the burlesque "decir de escarnio" found in Castillo's Cancionero general. The long Dezir that Baena wrote to King Juan II offering remedies to the civil disorders racking the kingdom of Castile and Leon in the mid-fifteenth century has also been omitted, since it and the accompanying commentaries would undoubtedly double, or even triple, the length of this dissertation. Furthermore, several editions of the poem already exist in print, of varying quality, it is true, but providing together an extensive and worthwhile commentary on the poem, its vocabulary, and the circumstances surrounding its composition.[2] Still, there is much more work to be done, and

---

[1] All quotes from the Cancionero de Baena have been taken from the transcription of the manuscript contained in this dissertation, but have been cross-referenced to Azáceta's edition to facilitate referencing for the reader.

[2] Menéndez y Pelayo was the first critic to present a modern transcription of the poem in his Antología de poetas líricos castellanos (Santander, 1944; vol. 4, pp. 364-82), though with several lacunae and other smaller omissions and errors in transcription.

Jules Piccus published a palaeographic transcription of the poem in the Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica (12 [1958]: 335-56), in an article entitled "El dezir de Juan Alfonso de Baena".

Nancy Marino prepared a critical edition of this same poem in monograph form, entitled Dezir que fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena (Valencia, 1978), offering extensive literary and historical commentary.

Three other works offer critical commentary on the poem. The first is by José Amador de los Ríos who is the first scholar to give commentary on this poem, in volume six of his Historia crítica de la literatura española (Madrid, 1865, pp. 147-50).

Jeremy Lawrance, in his article "Juan Alfonso de Baena's Versified Reading List: A Note on the Aspirations and the Reality of Fifteenth-

(continued...)

it is our intention in the future to prepare a critical edition of this poem and of the one remaining poem in the Cancionero general, thus editing all of Juan Alfonso de Baena's works according to the same uniform criteria.

Along similar lines, we have decided to omit the poet's renowned foreword made up, firstly, of a brief dedication describing the Cancionero and its contents (fol. 1r) and, secondly, of the "Prologus baenenssis" (fols. 1v-3r), which consitutes an ars poetica of sorts and ends with a rudimentary attempt at a table of contents. It is acknowledged, however, that without the "Prologus", this edition is somewhat less comprehensive since the reader still has to have recourse to previous editions to get Baena's own views of poetry and poetic composition.

We do not claim to present a finished "critical edition" to the reader since our work is still incomplete. Even though we offer commentary on common nouns in the poems, we have not commented on any proper nouns. We have also resisted the temptation to engage in any extensive literary commentary. By the same token, we have also eschewed any political, historical, or sociological commentary to which these works might give rise. The poems have not been dated and we present them in no particular chronological order, except the order in which they appear in the Cancionero de Baena itself. Still, we believe that this dissertation contains the basic ingredients of a critical edition and forms a good foundation on which to add at a future date other elements necessary for the edition to be considered "critical" in its fullest sense.

As will be discussed later, all editions of the Cancionero de Baena prepared and published since 1851 show too many variants among them for any to be considered "definitive". This includes Azáceta's 1966 edition published in three volumes under the auspices of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) in Madrid. None of these editions, except the photographic reproduction of the manuscript published in 1926 by the Hispanic Society of America, presents any detailed criteria regarding the methodology followed in transcribing the codex. Consequently, consistency in transcription is lacking. One would think that the edition published by such a reputable institution as the CSIC would be the most reliable and the most resistant to academic scrutiny. This is far from the truth: the fact is

---

[2](...continued)
Century Castilian Culture" (JHP 5 [1981]: 101-22), studies strophes 13-40 of the Dezir in which Baena boasts of his erudition by listing many of the books he has read in his lifetime.

The fourth chapter of our master's thesis entitled "Valoración de la obra poética de Juan Alfonso de Baena" (Ottawa, Carleton U, 1987) deals exclusively with this composition, and offers commentary of a literary, historical, and technical nature. The abstract of this thesis is published in Masters Abstracts International (26.3 [1988]: 296).

that this edition in many ways displays a most arbitrary methodology. In light of these circumstances and the procedures to which we have systematically adhered in the process of transcribing the poems, this dissertation can be said to justify itself. It seems clear that a new and "definitive" edition of the Cancionero de Baena is called for, one which would strictly follow established and standardized principles of transcription. While not claiming that this edition is "definitive", it will hopefully provide the most accurate transcription of Baena's poems as well as some of the most extensive textual commentary on them to date.

My master's thesis entitled Valoración de la obra poética de Juan Alfonso de Baena, prepared under the supervision of Dr. José Jurado at Carleton University in Ottawa, can be viewed as the first step in this entire process of making Baena's poetry more accessible to the modern scholar. In my earlier work, Baena's poems were classified in four principal categories, namely, the elegiac, polemical, mendicant, and socio-political. As will be evident in this dissertation, the largest and most interesting group is made up of the polemical poems, the versified debates. Since the work of examining the court secretary's poems has been completed to a large extent in our master's thesis, where our findings coincided in many surprising ways with those of Claudine Potvin--despite two very different critical approaches[1]--we do not intend to re-open issues already addressed (such as literary commentary) and have therefore attempted to avoid literary interpretation in order to dedicate ourselves to the perhaps more onerous task of establishing a new, edited transcription of the poems. That is not to say that the final word has been written on Juan Alfonso de Baena's poems. New methods and approaches are always possible and, indeed, encouraged. Still, this transcription and the accompanying variants and lexicological commentary, in concert with the literary work carried out in our master's thesis and by Dr. Potvin in her Illusion et pouvoir serve as a good starting-point for undertaking a new critical examination of Baena in particular, and fifteenth-century Castilian court poets in general.

---

[1] In my master's thesis I kept to a more historical, influence-based examination of the poetry, whereas Potvin successfully, and very appropriately, founded her methodology on Zumthor's formal approach to the French poetry of the Rhétoriqueurs.

II. Juan Alfonso de Baena: Biographical Details

There is little available information regarding the life of Juan Alfonso de Baena.[1] Much of what we do know about him can only be deduced from references to him and his character found in his poetry and in the poems of a number of his contemporaries and from the results of modern day archival research.

Jeremy Lawrance, in a discussion of certain points raised by Manuel Nieto Cumplido, notes in "Juan Alfonso de Baena's Versified Reading List" (JHP 5 [1981]: 101-22) that in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (clero, cap. 2983) there is a receipt dated 17 December 1417 for "tres libros de Remon" lent by the monastery of Valparaíso (Córdoba). The receipt in question bears the reference of "escrivano de nuestro sennor el rey" and the signature of Juan Alfonso de Baena (p. 102n.). This leads Lawrance to propose, reasonably enough, that the poet must have also been one of Juan II's librarians.

Nancy Marino, in her study and edition of the Dezir que fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena (Valencia, 1978), alludes to Baena as a court historian without indicating the source of this information. Perhaps she has been led to this conclusion merely because of the historical theme of the Dezir she is studying. But that Baena was an intellectual cannot be denied under the light of the exceptional erudition that shines through in his literary works. Menéndez y Pelayo, examining this very problem, asserted the following:

> Distaba mucho Juan Alfonso de Baena de ser un ingenio lego aunque no hubiese cursado en escuelas: para su tiempo había leído mucho, así de poesía como de historia y de filosofía moral, de todo lo cual hace pedantesco alarde en los notables versos políticos que dirigió al Rey... (vol. 1, p. 413)

Through the Cancionero de Baena, we know that its compiler was a royal scribe, a position which Baena boasts about quite often (Azáceta, vol. 1, p. 4, ll. 28-30; CB 81, 180, 357, etc.). Lucien Dollfus in his study "Garci Ferrans de Jerena et le Juif Baena" (Etudes sur le moyen âge espagnol, Paris, 1894, pp. 289-309) clarifies the meaning of "escribano" as "greffier ou notaire royal", i.e., a modern parliamentary clerk (p. 289). He may have had accounting duties as well, since Ferrand Manuel de Lando mentions him as "sumando las rrentas del año passante" (CB 374, l. 8).[1] This has been pointed out by Ezio Levi in his "Un juglar español en Sicilia (Juan de Valladolid)" (Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal, vol. 3, p. 428). Manuel Nieto Cumplido in his "Aportación histórica al Cancionero de Baena" (HID 6 (1979): 197-218) gives further evidence to support this claim, citing a financial document from Córdoba dated August 1420 which states that Baena was responsible for 2000 maravedíes of charges to the "alcabalas del pan y del aceite" of that city (p. 198).

---

[1] Much of this section on the life of Juan Alfonso de Baena has been taken directly from my M.A. thesis, Valoración de la obra poética de Juan Alfonso de Baena, pp. 4-8.

The period of Baena's lifespan is consistently given in library cataloguing entries as 1406-1454. A better term than lifespan might be "productive years". These estimates cannot be based on any records other than the fact that his earliest known poem is CB 37, the planto he wrote on the death of Enrique III in 1406. The year 1454 marks the death of Juan II and the last possible date that the Cancionero could have been completed, according to certain critics. More logically, however, it can be surmised that the poet-anthologist was born some time in the late 1370s or the early 1380s, or, as Azáceta notes, "en los últimos lustros del siglo XIV", based on the chronology of his poetic output (vol. 1, pp. vii-viii). He was Andalusian, a native of Marchena or some other nearby town ("Señor, çerca de Marchena / fue nasçido..." [CB 425, ll. 1-2]). He might have received his early education in the town of Baena ("Yo ley dentro en Baena, / do aprendí fazer borrones..." [Azáceta, Apénd.: Dezir que fizo..., ll. 163-64]) and it seems that in his later years, after his retirement from the court, he may have lived for a while in Osuna ("... moro çerca d'Ossuna..." [CB 456, l. 14]). Other minor biographical details on the life of the poet are his social status of escudero--squire--("a mí, un pobre escudero..." [CB 456, l. 13])--as J.B. Avalle-Arce observes in his study "Sobre Juan Alfonso de Baena" (RFH 8 [1946]: 141-47, ad hoc p. 146)--and his short journey and stay in Germany[2], perhaps in his role as secretary-scribe for some diplomatic mission. This can be deduced from the mariscal Pero García's answer to Baena:

> Señor, hanme dicho que allá en Alimaña
> tovistes la tela con fuertes plaçones,
> a quatro carreras quatorze melones,
> e diz que feçistes muy bien cosa estraña...
> (CB 423, ll. 1-4)

---

[1] In fact, proceedings from the Cortes mention "sumar las rrentas" as one of the responsibilities of the escribanos (Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla, vol. 3, p. 625).

[2] Such contacts between the courts of Castile and Germany were not uncommon at the time. Boase observes that Fernando de Guevara was in Germany in 1439 for a jousting tournament (p. 101).

Other information regarding the little known life of Juan Alfonso de Baena which has been the object of intensive debate among modern critics are his probable Jewish origins, his supposed fall into royal disfavour, and the omission of his name from the Marqués de Santillana's Carta prohemio (1449). The debate surrounding the Jewish origins of Baena first began and then was perpetuated by an erroneously transcribed palaeographic reading of "judino" for "indino" (Azáceta, CB, Prólogo) first perpetrated by Eugenio de Ochoa[1]. Once the error was discovered, it was corrected by Joseph Mueller, a nineteenth-century orientalist (Carré Aldao, p. 256). Amador de los Ríos (vol. 6, p. 142) and Menéndez y Pelayo (vol. 1, p. 369) nonetheless defended the reading of "judino", the former probably basing his stance on the 1851 edition of the Cancionero de Baena and the latter, on certain of Mueller's findings, noting that the orientalist only argues for a possible error in transcription in order to deny the possible Jewish origin of the poet (vol. 1, p. 369n.), without taking into account other passages from the Cancionero. Carré Aldao argued along similar lines in his Influencias de la literatura gallega en la castellana (Madrid, 1915 [pp. 255-62]), as does Hugo Rennert in the foreword to his Macías, o namorado: A Galician Trobador (Philadelphia, 1900 [p. 2n.]). Menéndez y Pelayo bases his belief that Baena was a converso on the words of Ferrand Manuel de Lando addressed to him:

Al noble esmerado, ardit e constante,
bañado de agua de ssanto bautismo... (CB 370, vv. 1-2)

The problem seems to have been resolved or at least put into proper perspective in 1946 by J.B. Avalle-Arce in his article "Sobre Juan Alfonso de Baena". Avalle-Arce argues convincingly against the Mueller-Carré Aldao thesis based on poems in the Cancionero which make frequent references to Baena's Jewish origins. For example, the contemporary Jewish penchant for eggplant is brought to light in Diego de Estúñiga's response to Juan Alfonso de Baena:

...dígolo por non ussar
en vuestra tierra trobar,
que más curan de ssenbrar
mucha buena berenjena,
el que han por buen manjar. (CB 424, vv. 5-9)

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[1] This was never considered a topic for debate until recent times. In 1783, Rafael Floranes referred to Baena's "ruines composiciones y judayca extraccion" as a matter of course (Mondéjar, Memorias históricas..., Apénd. XVI, p. cxxxviii).

But Avalle-Arce does not arrive at solid conclusions, suggesting that Baena could have been of Moorish descent (pp. 144-45) and ends by stating that the Semitic ancestry of the poet cannot be proven conclusively:

> ... al referirse al judaísmo de Baena debe valorarse positivamente el que no se lo enrostren claramente, para nosotros al menos, en ninguno de los muchos vejámenes en su contra insertos en el Cancionero. Hay que recordar además que en las composiciones que he copiado no se dice: "los de tu raza" sino "en vuestra tierra". (p. 146)

More recently Josep M. Solà-Solé has indicated in a biographical study of the Andalusian poet, found in his Sobre árabes, judíos y marranos (Barcelona, 1983 [pp.207-23]), that he was Jewish by blood but became a Christian early in his life (p. 223). However, no conclusive proof of this assertion is given in that essay. Still, it cannot be denied that Baena was indeed a converso, and very conscious of it: the date of his conversion is unimportant, though it would have most likely occurred during or shortly after the pogroms of 1391.

Another interesting detail was that Baena was not mentioned in the Marqués de Santillana's Carta prohemio addressed to the condestable of Portugal in 1449. Amador de los Ríos attributes this glaring absence to the fact that the "Marqués no podía aprobar la vanidad maldiciente [del mismo]" (vol. 6, p. 144, n. 2). On the other hand, Baena did not include the Marqués in his Cancionero. If these are intentional omissions, then we have a reflection of the "disensiones políticas" racking Castile in the fifteenth century and of mutual "profundos odios", as Francisca Vendrell shows in her study entitled "Los cancioneros del siglo XV" found in Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas (Ed. G. Díaz-Plaja [Barcelona, 1951, vol. 2, pp. 55-70; ad hoc p. 63]). The Marqués was openly against the policies of the condestable Alvaro de Luna, which brought him into disfavour and led to his temporary absence from the royal court. The omission could imply a certain ill-will harboured against Baena who, being part of the royal bureaucracy, might have known Luna personally and been under his protection.

A final point relating to the life of Juan Alfonso concerns his family, of which we know almost nothing. In poem 452, Baena mentions a sister named Illana (v. 16). The rubric of poem 105, having Francisco de Baena as its author, indicates that the latter was "escrivano del adelantado Diego de Ryvera". The Marqués de Pidal (p. 675n.), Amador de los Ríos (vol. 6, p. 138) and Azáceta (vol. 1, p. vii) claim that this poet is the brother of Juan Alfonso without offering their sources for this information and perhaps supposing that these two men were siblings because of their common surname, profession, and acerbic wit. Ramírez de Arellano in his "Antón de

Montoro y su testamento" (RABM, 3ª época, 4 [1900]: 484-89) states that it can be supposed--"se supone"--that Juan and Francisco were siblings. Needless to say, this hypothesis needs more solid foundations before it can be supported.

Relating to this issue is the question of Baena's surname. Was it "Al[f]onso de Baena" or simply "de Baena"? If it was "Alfonso de Baena" then the matter of blood relationship between Juan and Francisco could be cast into further doubt. "Baena" was probably a very common surname at the time in southern Spain, since the poet refers to himself on one occasion as "de los de Baena" (CB 462, l. 6) and names himself with the Latin "Johanes Baenenssis" or "Juan de Baena" in his Prologue (fol. 1r). The "Alfonso" part of his name is probably his father's name, to distinguish him from the other "Juan de Baenas" of his native province.

Since Juan Alfonso de Baena was an "escribano real", then it is conceivable that he might be a signatory to certain court proceedings. We have delved into the cuadernos of the Cortes of Castile and Leon published by the Real Academia de la Historia and, in our readings, have come across proceedings dated and sealed by a scribe named "Iohan Alfonso" on 2 March 1401 at the Cortes of Tordesillas:

> Dada en Oter de siellas dos días de Março, anno del nasçemiento del nuestro Saluador Jesu Christo de mill e quatroçientos e vn annos.--Yo Iohan Alfonso la fiz escreuir por mandado de nuestro Sennor el Rey.
> (vol. 2, p. 544)

This is by no means the earliest reference to the scribe named Iohan Alfonso. The cuaderno from the Cortes of Valladolid of 1447 cites a precedent from 11 October 1399 apparently penned by the same scribe. The precedent in question deals with royal pardons and quotes a law assented to by Enrique III in 1399. The conclusion reads:

> ... E sy en qual quier destos casos aya caydo, non vala la carta que levare nin le sea guardada, en non fagades ende al, so pena dela mi merçed. Fecho onze dias de Otubre anno del nasçimiento del nuestro sennor Ihesu Christo de mill e treçientos e noventa e nueve annos.--Yo el Rey.--Yo Juan Alfonso lo fize escreuir por mandado de nuestro sennor el Rey.--Registrada... (vol. 3, p. 528)

To further substantiate our belief that this scribe may be the same Juan Alfonso "de Baena", there is a reference from the Cortes of Valladolid of 1420 to two scribes named "Sancho Romero" and "Martin Gonçalez" who apparently belonged to the same social circle as Baena and to whom he wrote a petitionary poem beginning with the lines "My sseñor Martín Gonçales, / otrossy Sancho Rromero", referring to them as "escrivanos muy leales" (CB 456, l. 3) and "doss amigos prinçipales" (CB 456,

l. 11). I am not claiming with certainty that the scribe named "Iohan Alfonso" is the same Juan Alfonso de Baena whose poetry is the subject of this dissertation, but there is a *very* strong likelihood that he is. To say so without any doubt, however, would require comparing the original manuscripts of the Cortes with the handwriting of the *Cancionero de Baena* and with Juan Alfonso de Baena's signature on the library receipts mentioned by Nieto Cumplido. If it is he, then modern libraries will have to change their date-reference for Juan Alfonso de Baena from 1406-1454 to 1399-1454.

III. Hispanic Manuscript no. 37, Bibliothèque Nationale

A. Introductory Comments

As mentioned earlier, the Cancionero de Baena itself is the only known source of the vast majority of Juan Alfonso de Baena's poems. In some ways, this facilitates the task of the editor, who has to resort only to one source when establishing a "definitive" text. On the other hand, it presents problems of error-tracking: we often have no way of knowing whether a difficult line is an erroneous transcription on the part of an amanuensis or whether it is an example of a unique occurrence of a particular linguistic usage. In the next several pages we shall examine Hispanic manuscript no. 37 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in order to identify specific problems posed by this text and the areas that need to be taken into account when preparing a new edition.

When dealing with the Cancionero de Baena manuscript, it is important to repeat from the outset that, although the manuscript is "unique" and even though Baena states unequivocally that "lo conpuso con grand pena" (Azáceta, vol. 1, p. 16), more than one scribe was evidently involved in its compilation, since the hand may change from one folio to the next. Barclay Tittmann claims to have distinguished at least five different hands in the Cancionero in his article, "A Contribution to the Study of the Cancionero de Baena Manuscript" (Aquila 1 [1968]: 190-203): "It appears that one copyist is responsible for fols. 1-84 and 157-80; fols. 85-131 are the work of several different copyists, although it is hard to determine their precise contributions; fols. 133-56 seem to be the work of yet another copyist, as are fols. 181-92" (p. 192n.). This should not be surprising, however, given the length of the work in question and the collaborative aspect of manuscript production in the Middle Ages. Baena, by putting his name to the manuscript, is demonstrating a still inchoate notion of authorship and copyright: he is, in effect, ascribing to himself the role of "project manager" or "editor-in-chief", thereby hoping to gain certain advantages or favours of a social and economic nature.

This is related in large part to the notion of literary patronage in the Middle Ages. Indeed, all these poets were courtiers, either members of the nobility or vassals who earned their living both as court functionaries and by commissions received for poems they wrote. It was only in the court that any literary form could flourish, be recorded, and survive for future generations to enjoy. As Samuel Moore notes in his "General Aspects of Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages" (Library 4 [1913]: 369-92), the expense involved in producing handwritten books and the concentration of a society's readers within the royal court meant that "it was inevitable that literature owed its existence to patronage"

(p. 373).[1] Moore goes on to quote Martin Le Franc's foreword to "Champion des dames" which shows that medieval authors themselves were aware of the importance of patronage:

> "Ce n'est pas chose nouvelle que ceulx qui livres batissent et composent volontiers, présentent leurs ouvrages et labours aux grands seigneurs, adfin de leur monstrer et offrir la très entière affection qu'ilz ont à eulz, et que soubz leur nom leurs livres prennent quelque auctorité et cours..." (p. 329)

In the context of the Cancionero de Baena, we can see that its author has brought together a compendium of the court poets of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Castile as a sort of literary monument to

> el muy esmerado e famoso poeta, maestro e patron de la dicha arte [de la poetrya], Alfonso Alvares de Villasandino, e todos los otros poetas, frayles e religiosos, maestros en theologia, e cavalleros e escuderos, e otras e muchas diverssas personans sotiles, que fueron e son muy grandes desidores e ommes muy discretos e bien entendidos en la dicha graçiosa arte.
> (vol. 1, pp. 3-4)

Moreover, Baena continues the monument motif by emphasizing the fact that he has fashioned it like a laboriously crafted objet d'art for the pleasure and in the service of the king:

> El qual libro . . . fiso e ordeno e conpusso e acopilo el indino Johan Alfonso de BAENA . . . con muy grandes afanes e trabajos, e con mucha diligençia e afection e grand deseo de agradar e conplaser, e alegrar e seruir a la su grand Realesa e muy alta Señoria. (vol. 1, p. 4)

By bringing together the works of so many poets (including his own)[2], and by invoking the name of the king as patron, Baena ensures the survival through the centuries of these works, since such an elaborate, well-crafted book would certainly be kept in the royal library.

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[1] For greater detail on literary patronage in medieval Europe, the reader should consult R. Boase, The Troubadour Revival (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1978) and K.J. Holzknecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages (New York: Octagon, 1966; reprint of 1923 edition).

[2] For the criteria of selection possibly used by Baena in compiling the Cancionero, cf. Claudine Potvin's "Le discours critique de Baena" in her Illusion et pouvoir (pp. 31-68). Potvin suggests that the poetry found in the anthology appealed to the full gamut of literary tastes of the mid-fifteenth century, but appears to favour those poets who have gained renown during the reign of Juan II.

In this light, we are now able to proceed to an examination of the manuscript and its necessary dependence on a myriad primary sources, which stands in contrast to its renown as the only extant source of much of the poetic output from the Castilian court of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. In other words, Baena, in compiling his Cancionero, had access to many different writings, bringing these together to form what is now called the Cancionero de Baena. To illustrate this, it will prove worthwhile to briefly study the nature of the "cancioneros" and their authors.

B. The Nature of the "Cancioneros"

In the foreword to his facsimile reproduction of the 1511 Valencia edition of the Cancionero general, Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino explains that the scarcity of books, their concentration in monastic libraries[1], and the unwillingness of these to lend them out (because of their value) led secular scribes to create massive encyclopaedic works--and later, the "cancioneros"--which kings and other nobles could have at their disposal, and which in a sense could be thought of as libraries in miniature:

> Esta escasez, esta casi imposibilidad de hacerse con las obras, obligó, sobre todo en la literatura poética, a la formación de las antologías, a reunir en un tomo cuanto pudiese llegar a noticia del colector. De ahí la frecuente mezcolanza de épocas y estilos, el aparecer juntos poetas cuya vida transcurrió con una diferencia de cien años, el revoltijo de poesía religiosa con amatoria, la conservación de textos deturpados o truncos: se recogía lo que se podía y el volumen resultante no era una selección orientadora, sino una biblioteca en pequeño con todos sus inconvenientes. (p. 8)

With specific reference to the "cancioneros", it is evident that their compilers would have to have access to the poems they would include in their anthology and, therefore, would most likely be associated with the court, the centre of production of the type of verse in question:

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[1] Starting from the widely accepted modern notion that information, the possession of it, and the ability to use it properly constitute "power", one could convincingly argue that the Church was the real power in medieval society not because of the tributes and oaths of fealty that it exacted from the secular royalty of Western Europe, but because it had all the information (what we would now consider the sum total of Western knowledge) concentrated in its own hands. The growing number of secular scribes associated with royal courts instead of universities and the encyclopaedic compilations for which they were responsible could be said to represent some early instances of a slow and gradual chipping away at the Church's temporal authority by regional princes eager to assert their growing power and influence.

> ...se alza el recopilador de cancioneros, sedentario, cortesano, viviendo en lugares desde los que podía adquirir poco a poco los materiales para su volumen. Es difícil suponer que un aficionado con escasa capacidad económica y residiendo en perdido pueblecillo falto de comunicaciones, pueda ser el formador de un cancionero: el conocimiento no podía tenerse sino cuando vivía en importantes centros culturales políticos o religiosos. (p. 8)

And as Rodríguez-Moñino indicates, the gathering of materials to be included in the collection was something that took place over a period of time. It can easily be imagined that Juan Alfonso de Baena himself took many months, or even years, to amass the loose sheets of paper containing one or several poems, or perhaps a series of debates, organizing the whole into ordered piles, which he or the team of amanuenses in his charge would systematically copy into the carefully planned manuscript. It is further conceivable that these loose sheets of paper serving as the source of the codex would then be thrown out, kept by some scribe, or make their way back into the hands of the courtesans who had lent them to Baena.[1]

The fact that scribes were copying versions of poems that had already been written down can give us an idea of how errors and difficult readings made their way into the codex. It can also explain variations in spelling owing to erratic spelling rules[2] or to spellings which may reflect dialect. Based on studies which deal with errors found in medieval manuscripts, we can actually classify them according to how they might have occurred, and therefore reconstruct the actual production of the manuscript and visualize how the scribe, hunched over his desk, would have introduced a given error into the text.

Even during the Middle Ages it was recognized that scribes were often careless. Authors often lamented the fact that a scribe or scribes had corrupted or distorted a text they had composed. Geoffrey Chaucer, for example, admonishes his scribe Adam in a witty poem entitled "Chaucers Wordes unto Adam, His Owne Scriveyn":

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[1] This last possibility would help to explain how these poems made it into other "cancioneros" of the period. But the Baena manuscript itself could have served as a source for these later collections. Moreover, it is by no means inconceivable that an author had in his possession more than one copy of a poem he had written.

[2] Even so, late medieval Castilian, as evidenced in the Cancionero de Baena, seems to have developed a fairly standardized orthography, in spite of the perennial confusion between "b" and "v", and between "c"/"z" and "s", characteristic of the language.

> Adam scriveyn, if ever it thee bifalle
> Boece or Troylus for to wryten newe
> Under thy long lokkes thou most have the scalle,
> But after my makyng thou wryte more trewe;
> So ofte a-daye I mot thy werk renewe,
> It to correcte and eek to rubbe and scrape;
> And al is thorugh thy negligence and rape.
> (Chaucer, p. 534)

Chaucer accuses Adam of "negligence and rape" in transcribing his works (viz., Troilus and Criseyde and translations of Boethius), beseeching him to "wryte more trewe", and ruing the fact that everyday he must proofread manuscripts himself and "correcte", "rubbe", and "scrape" material written by his assistant.

Petrarch directs no less harsh words at scribes in general in one of the four rhetorical debates included in his De librorum copia ("On the Abundance of Books"). In a dialogue with Joy, Reason comments on the inaccuracy of classical literary texts, declaring that

> Even if the integrity of authors were fully assured, who could remedy the ignorance of the scribes and their indolence, which corrupts and confuses everything, in fear of which, I imagine, already many brilliant minds have turned away from great creative projects. These are the just deserts of our rotten age which neglects the needs of learning in favor of the kitchen and scrutinizes cooks but not the scribes. Thus anyone who has learned to scribble something upon parchment and to hold a pen in his hand is thought to be a scribe, although he has no knowledge whatever, no mind and no skill. I do not look anymore for orthography, nor do I complain that it has perished long ago. If only they would write what they are told to write, which would reveal the writer's inability but not obscure the facts! Now, with their confused copies and drafts, they promise to write one thing but write another, so that you do not recognize what you yourself dictated. If Cicero or Livy or any other of the illustrious ancients, the younger Pliny above all, were to return today and to re-read their writings would they recognize them and not hesitate in many places believing this passage not their own and that one unintelligible gibberish? (pp. 35-37)

Petrarch goes so far as to suggest that a scribes' guild could be established to maintain control over them and ensure the quality of their product. He shifts the blame for their "indolence" onto the backs of the public authorities:

> Furthermore, to return to the subject, the scribes are not controlled by any law, approved by any examination, or selected by any trial. Neither the blacksmiths, nor the farmers and weavers, nor most other craftsmen have such unrestricted liberty--and what otherwise would be of little consequence becomes a serious danger now that everybody rushes into writing indiscriminately and those who corrupt everything are guaranteed high pay. Yet, this is actually not the fault of scribes who strive for profit as all other men but of the scholars and leaders of public affairs who never attend to any such matter... (p. 39)

In spite of this commentary from an age in which manuscripts were the principal source of knowledge, it is difficult to accept the contention that languages--whether Latin or the nascent Romance dialects--had no "rules", and Petrarch may only be resorting to the common rhetorical device of hyperbole. The facts speak for themselves when one peruses late medieval French and Castilian manuscripts. There were indeed rules--perhaps "standards" might be a better word--which scribes were expected to observe. This observation has already been made regarding orthographic consistencies in the _Cancionero de Baena_ manuscript (see p. 14, n. 1). Such a state of affairs is also confirmed by H.J. Chaytor in his _From Script to Print: An Introduction to Medieval Literature_ (Cambridge: CUP, 1945) through arguments based on observations of French documents from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which manifest a high degree of orthographic consistency, suggesting that scribes did receive some measure of formal training in their craft (p. 21). But these scribes had differing degrees of education, and some may have had none at all, having learned their profession as apprentices under the tutelage of more experienced elders. As Peter Lucas maintains in his article, "A Fifteenth-Century Copyist at Work under Authorial Scrutiny" (_SB_ 34 [1981]: 66-95), vigilance would still have to be the order of the day to ensure accurate written transmission, for "unless an author was supremely vigilant the distortions and corruptions could set in under his own roof" (p. 80) as the earlier quotes from Chaucer and Petrarch have shown. Moreover, the letters of the alphabet themselves were still in a process of evolution, and a letter in one dialect might have been rendered differently in a neighbouring dialect spoken only thirty kilometres away.

C. Error Transmission in the Manuscript

This leads us to an examination of the medieval concept of the alphabet and of the act of reading itself. Lucas explains in his already mentioned article that letters had three attributes, an idea whose origins go back to the Graeco-

Roman tradition. The first attribute was the actual written form of a letter (figura); the second, its phonic quality or sound (potestas)[1]; and the third, its actual name or identity (nomen). Lucas goes on to suggest that in cases where an amanuensis was copying a document that was not written in his native dialect, the changes he introduced to the document would naturally demonstrate characteristics of his native dialect. Such "errors" could then be classified into two categories:

> 1) F-changes, i.e., alterations in figura which amount to "orthographic" changes (the letter may change though its phonic quality remains the same, e.g. an intervocalic "s" might be rendered as "z" in some languages, or a voiceless palatal fricative might be rendered as "-sh-" in one dialect, "-ch-" in another, and "-x-" or "-sc-" in yet another), and
> 2) FP-changes, i.e., alterations in both figura and potestas, affecting the shape of the letter and its phonic rendering. These types of changes can be considered "dialectical". (pp. 82-83)

Lucas may in fact be extrapolating from Chaytor's earlier study which proposed a linguistic approach to the categorizing of scribal errors based on the supposed medieval prevalence of "auditory memory" over "visual memory":

> He [the scribe] was confronted not by the beautiful productions of a university press, but by a manuscript often crabbed in script and full of contractions, and his instinctive question, when deciphering a text, was not whether he had seen, but whether he had heard this or that word before; he brought not a visual but an auditory memory to his task.... [H]e had learnt to rely on the memory of spoken sounds, not upon the interpretation of written signs. And when he had deciphered a word, he pronounced it audibly... When the eye of a modern copyist leaves the manuscript before him in order to write, he carries in his mind a visual reminiscence of what he has seen. What the medieval scribe carried was an auditory memory, and probably in many cases, a memory of one word at a time. (Chaytor pp. 14, 19)

Chaytor goes on to criticize the method proposed by Vinaver (to be discussed later) for ascertaining types of scribal errors in any given manuscript. This method is based on a set of hypotheses dealing with the kinds of eye movements involved in copying verbatim from one document to another. The British textologist refutes it, claiming that it is founded on modern assumptions of visual memory.[1] At the same time, though, and perhaps unwittingly, he weakens his argument by urging caution in determining the cause of one or another scribal error which, if attributable to a lapse in either visual or auditory memory, "will naturally vary in frequency with the education and competence of the scribe" (Chaytor, p. 21). But as the adage goes, "To err is human", and whether such erring results from lapses in visual or auditory memory is merely academic. The Chaytor-Lucas approach does have its merits, but mainly where philology is concerned. A study based on Lucas's method might be interesting with respect to the Cancionero de Baena and would go a long way in helping to establish the number of scribes involved in the compilation of the codex and their geographic origins as manifested in the dialectical characteristics of their transcriptions. This, however, does not fall within the scope of the current discussion.

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[1] This notion of potestas or "power" points to the idea of language itself as power. For a detailed discussion of this concept, see Claudine Potvin's Illusion et pouvoir: la poétique du "Cancionero de Baena" (Montréal: Bellarmin/Paris: Vrin, 1989), pp. 31-61 and 165-179.

A more practical way of establishing the types of errors made would be to classify them into set categories as outlined by the well-known textologist Eugène Vinaver. He proposes a set of categories based on a practical examination of the technical act of writing, which in the Middle Ages very often amounted to an act of copying. Vinaver begins with the question: "What types of errors are most likely to occur when the scribe is transferring information from one manuscript to another?" Errors are frequently the result of human carelessness and mental fatigue, the latter indeed leading to momentary lapses in visual and auditory memory, but--to reiterate--the distinction between the two, in this particular case, largely amounts to splitting hairs. Let us just say that visual memory plays a role of capital importance in the Middle Ages generally, and certainly with the scribe in particular, for he had to be able to read what he was copying. Human short-term memory was not so underdeveloped that there was no visual retention at all during the few seconds it took for the scribe to begin copying what he had just read.[1]

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[1] Auditory memory, on the other hand, may have played a large part in the composition of these poems, since it was very important for a poet to follow the rhyme-scheme and stanzaic structure of the poem to which he was responding.

The notion of the medieval oral tradition comes into play here. Albert Lord in his famous work, The Singer of Tales (New York: Atheneum, 1965), showed that medieval troubadours and minstrels had amazing memory capacity which was continuously improved through training and practice. Indeed, they often composed their poems, songs, or ballads during the actual performance (pp. 13-14). Claudine Potvin, in Illusion et pouvoir, discusses the mode of production of this type of verse and notes that "l'improvisation n'est pas exclue" (p. 145). She adds that the texts of the poems themselves "tendent à confirmer dans tous les cas la présentation orale des poèmes" (p. 145).

Moreover, the existence of the disparates trobados, the nonsensical debates found in the Cancionero which often deteriorate into gibberish, point to the existence of a continuing oral tradition in the fifteenth century. When read aloud, these poems "sound" like they make sense, but, upon closer examination, are but a random association of unrelated words and phrases, as in the extended debate between Baena and Juan García de Vinuesa (CB 382-89). For more on this aspect of medieval poetry, the reader should refer to Paul Zumthor's 1961 article, "Fatrasie et coq-à-l'âne (De Beaumanoir à Clément Marot)", in his Fin du moyen âge et renaissance (Antwerp, 1961).

Vinaver bases his findings on four types of eye movements involved in the process of copying from one manuscript to another: "(a) the reading of the text; (b) the passage of the eye from the text to the copy; (c) the writing of the copy; and (d) the passage of the eye from the copy back to the text" (p. 142). Each of these eye movements, according to the critic, is responsible for the introduction of errors into any given handwritten copy.[2]

From the reading of the text alone, two errors can be introduced into the copy: misunderstanding of the original (movement $\underline{a}^1$) and conscious correction (movement $\underline{a}^2$) (Vinaver, p. 152). Because the Cancionero de Baena is based on originals which are now lost, there is no way that an expert in diplomatics can determine with anything approaching certainty that such errors have been brought into the text. Still, a text that is illegible due to confusing syntax or nonsensical language may be a strong indication of error due to movement $\underline{a}^1$. Such cases can be found in the texts of Baena's poems as they appear in the manuscript. For example, in CB 80, l. 11[3], the codex clearly reads "brucales", though modern editors have with good reason corrected it to read "bru<t>ales". It is easy to understand how the copyist of the Baena manuscript might have read "brucales" from the original "brutales", since "c" and "t" are often easily confused in the court Gothic script of that period.

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[1] On the contrary, visual memory was highly developed. Memory skills, which were founded on visual principles, were taught as part of the rhetorical arts in medieval schools. As Daniel Boorstin in his The Discoverers (NY: Vintage, 1985) points out, the inventor of the "mnemonic arts", as they were called, was said to be Simonides of Ceos (ca. 556-468? BC), the renowned Greek lyric poet: "Simonides' art, which dominated European thinking in the Middle Ages, was based on the two simple concepts of places (loci) and images (imagines). These provided the lasting elements of Memory techniques for European rhetors, philosophers, and scientists" (p. 481).

[2] Charles Moorman, in his Editing the Middle English Manuscript (Jackson, 1975), also attempts to group errors into types. But unlike Vinaver, who bases his findings on how the errors occur, Moorman just provides a listing of what types of errors are most likely to be found, without categorizing them on external observable phenomena, such as eye movements.

[3] In referring to poems from the Cancionero de Baena, the abbreviation CB will be used, followed by the number of the composition according to Azáceta's edition.

Errors attributed to an irregularity in movement (d), i.e., the passage of the eye from the copy back to the text, are three in number according to Vinaver: firstly, there is "homoeoteleuton"[1], where line-endings are confused; contamination, where similar aspects of two different words combine to form one nonsensical word; and duplication, the latter causing repetition in the copy and not omission (p. 151). As far as can be ascertained, there are no instances of contamination or duplication in the codex under discussion, but there is one possible example that can be attributable to homoeoteleuton. This is found in *CB* 453, ll. 13-15:

> (...)
> ca para el otubre que viene onbre ledo
> mejor me paresçe Madrid e Toledo,
> Córdova o Sevilla do bive onbre ledo[2]
> (...)

Because of the nature of this poetry where successive line-endings often rhyme, such an error can be easily explained by trying to reconstruct the mental processes involved in its creation. This is conjecture, we admit, but it is not dangerous conjecture, serving to elucidate rather than confuse. Let us suppose that the copyist has stopped copying line 13 at the word "viene". The rest of the line may have read "jocundo", as proposed by Azáceta (vol. 3, p. 923n.). The three lines quoted above all end in the rhyme "-edo", but the writer may have forgotten that the first of those lines should end in -*undo*. The copyist may have confused "viene" with "biue", since the *n* and *u* are remarkably similar in fifteenth-century script and a stylized *b* can look at times like a *v*. Looking for the last words of the line he was writing, the scribe found "onbre ledo" after "biue" in line 15 and he copied it unwittingly into his document. Returning once again to his original, his eyes fell on the next line he was to copy (line 14) and he proceeded normally with the rest of the poem. Thus, the poem is transmitted to us in its original state, but with the homoeoteleuton in line 13 forever preventing us from knowing in absolute terms the original version of the text.

Lapses in the middle movements (b)--the passage of the eye from the text to the copy--and (c)--the writing of the copy--are classified under the heading "arrhythmia" by Vinaver, since they result in a "break in the rhythm of writing" (p. 151). Such aberrations include omission, dittography, and misspelling, and are the most frequent error-types found in the *Cancionero de Baena* manuscript. Many times, words are abbreviated, but the copyist has left out the tittles and other diacritic markings which help us in deciphering the text. In *CB* 80, l. 22, we have "choca" for "choça" (there is no cedilla under the *c* in the MS); in *CB* 264, l. 5, we read "e foma" for "e<n> fo<r>ma" (the tittles having been left out in the codex); and as a final example, we have "duvdaça" for "duvdãça" (transcribed as "duvda<n>ça") in l. 9 of *CB* 450.

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[1] Foulet and Speer, in their *On Editing Old French Texts* (Lawrence: Regents Press of KS, 1979), also refer to homoeoteleuton as "saut du même au même" (p. 80).

[2] Underscoring of letters indicates that they are abbreviated in the manuscript, usually with some kind of diacritic marking over the consonant preceding them, a Tironian symbol, or superscript.

Misspelling due to the replacement of a letter with another is also a frequent error found in the codex and this can be seen very easily to be caused by a break in the rhythm of writing, the copyist having forgotten exactly what the original document said and replacing it with a word very similar in sound or in meaning to the original word. Examples of such lapses are:

- *CB* 160, l. 34: "don non" for "do non", the "n" in "don" probably having been introduced into the text by assimilation with the first letter of "non";
- *CB* 180, l. 24: "çercano" for "çercado", the latter word conforming to the rhyme-scheme of the poem in question and giving a meaning which fits better into the context of the whole strophe;
- *CB* 383, l. 24: "non dudes" for "non dudedes";
- *CB* 379, l. 40: "vran gassajado" for "avran gassajado" (there are no diacritics over "vran" which could lead to the word being interpreted as "avran" or "veran", the former being the more apt);
- *CB* 456, l. 16: "péndola $\overset{de}{\wedge}$ syn dinero" (the caret under "de" appears in the MS) transcribed by Ochoa, Anaconda, and Azáceta as "pendolada syn dinero" and by Michel as "péndola da syn dinero". When looked at through a magnifying glass, the superscript word clearly shows up as "de" and not "da". Furthermore, why would Baena ask for a "pendolada syn dinero" when the whole purpose of the poem is to seek economic assistance: "Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena a Martín Gonçales e Sancho Rromero pidiéndoles ayuda de su péndola." It seems probable that "syn" is a misspelling of "su" due to arrhythmia: the copyist's attention to the task at hand was briefly interrupted, possibly due to fatigue brought on by the repetitive nature of such work. Thus, we have transcribed the line as "péndola de <su> dinero".

Dittography (words or letters erroneously occurring twice in succession) is also found in the Baenian poems of the Paris codex. Two instances of it can be cited, as follows: *CB* 411, l. 3 which the copyist rendered as "de qual he he rreçelo e muy grant temor", and the rubric of CB 358, which reads "Petiçión que fizo e ordenó el dicho Johan Alfonso para para el conde don Fadrique e Alvaro de Luna."

Finally, omission is one of the most common mistakes occurring in the manuscript. Sometimes, this omission can be clearly attributed to oversight, but more often there is a space left in the manuscript for the missing letters or missing words, as though the copyist did not understand the original and wanted to return to it later to "fill in the blanks", perhaps after consultation with a colleague or with the actual author of the poem.

The amanuensis responsible for the transcription of CB 37, Baena's planto written upon the death of Enrique III of Castile (Christmas Day, 1406) accidentally omitted the "Fynida" of the poem, since "Fynida" appears without the four lines of conclusion with which the composition would have closed.

In CB 80, omission occurs in ll. 3-4, which read as follows:

(...)
que sean donossos fydalgos e troben
limado syn pavor de emienda;
(...)

The A rhyme of this strophe ends in -enda, while the B rhyme ends in -ales. It appears that the copyist had probably read lines three and four together, and due to some lapse in memory, the last word of line three was deleted from his mind--at the risk of excessive conjecture, this word might have been "<leales>"--and he wrote "e troben" unwittingly as the last words of that line; whence the "arrhythmia". Since enjambment is relatively rare in the poetry of this period, and since "e troben" does not conform to the rhyme-scheme, it is only proper to place that phrase, as all modern printed editions have done, at the beginning of line four. The line is thus rendered as:

(...)
que sean donossos fydalgos . . .
e troben limado syn pavor de emienda;
(...)

Another instance of erratic scansion owing to omission is found in line 9 of CB 363, which is given as "Ffernand Manuel, por versefyque". It seems most probable that the scribe of this poem left out the word "que" between "por" and "versefyque". Ochoa in the 1851 Madrid edition transcribes the line, in effect, as "por que versefique" without indicating in any way the alteration that he brought to the original. Other editors interpreted the line differently. Michel in the 1860 Leipzig edition rendered it as it appears in the codex, i.e., "por versefyque", and Azáceta opted for a more radical course, giving us the nonsensical "por verse syn que", possibly assuming that the _f_ was actually a long _s_ and that the copyist left out a tilde over the _y_. Thus this transcription is rejected out of hand, as is Michel's which shows the line as it appears in the manuscript. Ochoa's transcription--"por que versefique"--is accepted with small alterations, since it fits most appropriately into the context of the whole strophe:

> Ffernand Manuel, por <que> versefyque
> donayres mi lengua sy_n_ rraça e polilla (...)
> (_CB_ 363, ll. 9-10)

Let us now examine instances where the copyist has omitted words or letters and has left spaces in the text, which were possibly to have been filled in later, when he would be able to dedicate more time to the decipherment of the original. Line 51 of _CB_ 393, is left blank in the manuscript. Line 50 of this poem reads "del vyl Davihuelo" and line 52 reads "que non sse me ensañe". In _CB_ 406, line 6 is given as "de sus nobles puntos de ..." where a space is left in the manuscript for the last word of that line. In _CB_ 425, line 40 reads "commo fiz ..." Here it appears that a person's name has been left out, possibly that of a well-known historical, legendary, or mythological figure which the scribe was unable to decipher in the original that he was using.

Finally there is a case of arrhythmia that the scribe seems to have caught after the fact. The poem in question, _CB_ 424, is one in which the last five lines of the first nine-line stanza are repeated in every stanza as a chorus or refrain. This refrain reads thus:

> (...)
> dígolo por non ussar
> en v_uest_ra t_ie_rra trobar,
> q_ue_ más cura_n_ de ssenbrar
> mucha buena berenjena,
> el q_ua_l han por bue_n_ ma_n_jar.

The fourth line of this refrain, as it occurs in the third stanza of _CB_ 424 is transcribed as "$\overset{b}{\text{buena}}$ $\overset{c}{\text{berenje}}\overset{na}{\wedge}$ e $\overset{a}{\text{mucha}}$". As mentioned above, the scribe who copied this line seems to have caught his error and, to rectify it, put a "b" above "buena", a "c" above "berenjena", and an "a" above "mucha", indicating alphabetically which word should come first ("mucha"), second ("buena"), and third ("berenjena").

D. The Originality of the "Cancionero" Manuscript

Another problem requiring discussion is that of the originality of the Cancionero de Baena manuscript found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Azáceta states in his introduction to the 1966 edition that opinions on the manuscript's authenticity can be divided into three general categories: 1) critics who maintain that it is the original text presented by Baena to King Juan II of Castile, 2) those who support the notion that it is a copy of the latter, and 3) those who are undecided but nevertheless lean in favour of its authenticity (Azáceta, vol. 1, p. L).

There are two problems to be confronted when dealing with the authenticity of the manuscript: 1) evidence that some compositions were added to the manuscript after it was presented to Juan II, and 2) the absence of several folios.

Barclay Tittmann, who notes that his article "A Contribution to the Study of the Cancionero de Baena Manuscript" was written before Azáceta published his findings on the manuscript's authenticity in 1966 (p. 203), rejects outright that we are dealing with Baena's original. Like most critics, he agrees that the original dedication of the work, which mentions Juan II's first wife, Doña María, places the Cancionero's terminus ante quem at February 1445, the month in which she died. Even so, he refutes the idea that we are dealing with the original manuscript, doubting the possibility that later poems were added to it at the request of Baena, the King himself, or the royal librarian. He maintains interestingly that we are dealing with a copy of a lost original, but the evidence he presents to defend such a thesis is circumstantial and highly conjectural. Still, he does put up a brave defence of his argument, attacking the problem on four separate fronts.

His first premise is that a description of what is conceivably, though not necessarily, the Cancionero is to be found in an entry in a catalogue of books which belonged to Isabel la Católica and was kept in the Alcázar at Segovia (now in the National Archives at Simancas):

> 133. Otro libro de marca mayor de mano, en romance, de pergamino, que es de coplas de Alonso Aluarez de Villasandino e otras leturas, e con coberturas de cuero colorado. (Tittmann, p. 194)

It is interesting to note that this description states that the manuscript is of parchment whereas the Paris codex is of "fine Tuscan paper" (p. 191), a fact confirmed by Claudine Potvin in consultation with a librarian at the Bibliothèque on a trip to the French capital in May-June 1990 (Letter, 9 August 1990). There are two possible outcomes from this: 1) the catalogue entry is a description of another manuscript containing the poems of Villasandino, now lost, and 2) the work in question was mistakenly described as being of parchment when in fact it was of paper, and could therefore be the Cancionero de Baena. Even experienced librarians have been known to err in their classification of documents. But Tittmann may be purposely misleading us to further his own argument. Eugenio de Ochoa observes that the catalogue entry in question appears after another entry mentioning a Tratado de Alonso de Baena and states that Clemencín believed both documents to be one and the same. He further notes that Baena's collection has often been referred to by critics as the Cancionero de Villasandino due to the preponderance of that poet's works in it. Also, there were certain to be other documents containing the verse of Villasandino, whose literary fame in fifteenth-century Castile was as colossal as his output, earning him a mention in the Marqués de Santillana's Proemio (1449) (Ochoa, p. vii-viii).

Tittmann's second premise is based on an entry in C.M. Briquet's Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier (Leipzig: Kiersemann, 1923), vol. 2, p. 408, no. 7466 which "lists a paper manufactured in Pistoia [Tuscany] in 1461-62 which corresponds exactly in format, wire-lines and chain-lines with the paper used in our manuscript" (p. 196n.). Again, though, this is conjectural: despite the fact that the watermark in the codex and that presented in Briquet's dictionary are both of a rampant griffin, "the two are not quite identical, and a positive identification cannot be made" (p. 196n.). He admits that the variation in watermarks could be due to different periods of manufacture, i.e., different batches or lots of paper. As well, a quick glance at Briquet's work reveals that griffins were a frequent symbol used in late medieval watermarkings, and many are of similar design. The griffin in question could conceivably be confused with other contemporary watermarks, such as the basilisk, the eagle, the stag, or the cock which often resemble it in the wing shape or the head.

The third premise in Tittmann's article is based on the presence of two of Juan de Mena's poems in the Paris manuscript on fol. 156, compositions which he feels are later addenda. The mere inclusion of Mena in the Cancionero puzzles him, for that poet clearly belongs to a later generation. However, he has overlooked the presence of two of Mena's contemporaries in the anthology: Juan Rodríguez del Padrón (or "de la Cámara") and Suero de Ribera. The author of the Laberinto de Fortuna is therefore not as unique a presence in the Cancionero de Baena as Tittmann would have us believe. But, as he points out, these are unquestionably post-1445 compositions, and as was indicated earlier, the latest possible date for the completion of the codex, based on internal evidence, is February 1445. Rather than paraphrase his argument, we will quote it as a measure of economy:

> Fol. 156 contains two commemorative poems by the famous Juan de Mena, who is otherwise not represented in the anthology. The first commemorates Juan II's victory over the coalition of rebellious Castilian nobles and the Infantes of Aragon at Olmedo, May 19, 1445; the second a council held by the king in Valladolid in August, 1449. Obviously these compositions could not have appeared in the original Cancionero . . . It is equally obvious that Juan II would have wanted these poems added to his anthology.
>
> But in fact the folio has not been added. The paper is identical with the paper used in the rest of the manuscript; the ink has precisely the same quality as in the preceding folios; and the hand is unquestionably that of the scribe responsible for a substantial block of folios immediately before fol. 156. Clearly, then, fol. 156 must have been written at the same time as the rest of the manuscript, that is, no earlier than August, 1449. Therefore the manuscript cannot be the original.
>
> (pp. 194-95)

Even though he indicates that fols. 133-53 are in the same hand as fol. 156 (p. 195n.), he has left out one very crucial point: fols. 133-53 are precisely those which contain the poems of the compiler, Juan Alfonso de Baena. Folios 154-55, i.e., those situated between fols. 153 and 156, contain the same works as those found on fols. 130-31: a series of decires by another court poet, Gómez Pérez Patiño. Although Tittmann implies that fols. 154-55 are exact duplicates of fols. 130-31, Morgan rightly points out--as Lang did earlier (p. 26)--that they "contain valuable variant information" (p. 23). Tittmann states that they are clearly the work of a different copyist (p. 195n.), but we must also put this assertion into question based on our own examination of the facsimile: there is no detectable difference in style between fols. 154-55 and those preceding or following them.

It is clear that the work's dedication was written prior to the death of Doña María (Juan II did not marry Isabel of Portugal until 1447), but because Baena may have compiled the work at royal command and not of his own initiative, compositions were continuously added to the manuscript until ca. 1450. In fact, fols. 133-53 may be in the hand of Baena himself, since they are his own compositions, while he added Mena's poems on fol. 156, recognizing the talent and innovation of this rising star. The Cancionero de Baena, therefore, was probably compiled over a period of several years, starting with the verse of Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino--the dedication clearly places him in a position of pre-eminence in the work (Azáceta vol. 1, p. 4)--and steadily growing to the extensive proportions it now has. Baena may not have included his own works in the anthology until 1449, or he may have included them earlier, but was not satisfied with their outcome and chose to recopy them himself. Thus, we are inclined towards Azáceta's conclusions regarding the date of the manuscript's compilation:

> ...estimamos que debe abandonarse la idea de que la ofrenda al Rey del códice pueda considerarse como broche de la obra, contra toda lógica, y que fueron acumulándose nuevos elementos poéticos, posiblemente hasta la muerte del Rey [1454], en espacios reservados en blanco o en nuevos folios que se sumaron al núcleo preparado antes de la muerte de la Reina [1445]. (vol. 1, pp. xxxii-xxxiii)

Still, rather than its being a question of folios added to the codex, it seems more probable, given Tittmann's observations that what we call the "addenda" are written on the same paper as the earlier compositions, that those folios were left blank in the codex to be filled in later. As Rodríguez-Moñino confirms in his foreword to the facsimile of the 1511 Valencian edition of the Cancionero general, poems to be included in any "cancionero" were acquired little by little over a period of time (p. 8), and these collections themselves "se concebían como bibliotecas, dándoles la mayor amplitud posible, reuniendo cuantas piezas se podía allegar..." (p. 9). Like libraries, they would grow as more and more material became available.

Finally, Tittmann's fourth premise, that the order of the poems in the codex does not correspond to the order given them in the table of contents at the beginning of the work and therefore points to the possibility of the Paris manuscript being the copy of a lost original (p. 195), can be more easily laid to rest. Nevertheless, his argument for the later rearrangement of a lost original, albeit circumstantial, is almost convincing. And though we admit its attraction, the fact is that few medieval texts had tables of contents, and when they did, these were usually quite inaccurate and confusing, whether they were intended to grace the royal eyes or not.

Claudine Potvin, in her study Illusion et pouvoir (Montréal, Paris, 1989), sees in this incomplete table some evidence of a rudimentary "principe organisateur, conforme aux tendances littéraires de l'époque" (p. 32). The notion of an "index" or "table of contents" was still somewhat revolutionary in Baena's day and no attempt at ordering had yet proved accurate. Daniel Boorstin points out that "well into the sixteenth century, nearly a century after the introduction of typographic printing, many books were still not being paginated, and often the numbering was not correct" (p. 531). It also appears likely that the table of contents was prepared before the poems were transcribed in the codex since there are blank spaces where the folio numbers are supposed to be added later. It is perhaps useless for the casual reader of the manuscript, but for the literary critic, it reveals that

Baena, right from the start, intended to organize his poems according to author.[1]

E. The Missing Folios: An Historical Overview

Finally, we are left to deal with the problem of the missing folios, mentioned by many critics. Henry R. Lang in his foreword to the facsimile edition of the Cancionero de Baena (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1926) states that fols. 6, 7, 37, 44, 144, and 168 are lost, while fol. 162 is mutilated (p. 2). Tittmann adds fol. 132 to the list of missing folios, while also noting that fols. 84 and 131, as well as fol. 162, were cut (he avoids the term "mutilated"), although both 84 and 131 had been "carefully repaired" (p. 193). As was pointed out earlier, he purports that fols. 154 and 155 are duplicates of fols. 130 and 131, though not by the same copyist as others nearby. The absence of fol. 144 also caught the eye of Francisque Michel who stated as much in a footnote to his edition (vol. 2, p. 117), noting the lack of thematic unity and rhyme between the lines of verse on fols. 143v and 145r.

The problem of the missing folios was also tackled by Rodríguez-Moñino in his article, "Sobre el Cancionero de Baena: dos notas bibliográficas", where his detailed research sheds new light on the history of the manuscript between the time it left Spain to wind up in England and eventually Paris. The eminent critic contends that, contrary to accepted fact, José Antonio Conde probably never had the manuscript in his personal collection for more than six years, since the catalogue of Conde's private library, "'comprende mil trescientos sesenta y cinco artículos, de los cuales puede asegurarse que no hay cien que hayan pertenecido a Conde'", according to Vicente Salvá's catalogue of his own personal library (Valencia, 1872), vol. 2, no. 2465 (Rodríguez-Moñino, p. 145n.). Conde probably had the codex sequestered in the Convento de la Trinidad in Madrid between 1809 and 1814, having removed it from the Escorial to protect it from the political turmoil and random destruction racking Spain at that time (p. 146). Rodríguez-Moñino, however, fails to state or even speculate on the whereabouts of the manuscript in question between 1814 and 1824, the latter being the year it appears on sale at an auction in London, figuring among the many other books belonging to the late bibliophile. Perhaps after the civil strife had subsided in Spain, Conde brought the book from the convent, where he had earlier deposited it, to his own residence, so that it would not get lost in the nuns' archives, a fate met by so many other medieval documents in Spain, in particular, and in Europe, in general, placed in the libraries of religious orders. Moreover, he may have had every intention of returning the work to its rightful place in the Biblioteca Real before his untimely death.

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[1] Potvin observes that a further examination of the text will reveal that poems were also grouped according to theme in some instances, citing the group of poems (CB 34-39) written upon the death of Enrique III, and another group (CB 115-31), written upon the fall and exile of Don Pedro Frías, cardinal of Spain (p. 32).

By collating Ochoa's and Lang's information on the history of the Cancionero, a more plausible explanation for its intermittent disappearance and reappearance in the early 1800s can be pieced together. It may also be a more accurate one due to the relative proximity, both historical and geographical, of Ochoa and Lang to the events under scrutiny. To continue Tomás Antonio Sánchez's collection of old Spanish poetry--Colección de poesías castellanas anteriores al siglo XV--first published in 1779 with subsequent expanded editions appearing in 1780, 1782, 1790, 1842 and later, Conde and other scholars commissioned by the Real Academia Española and the Real Academia de la Historia gathered together old literary manuscripts prior to the French invasion of 1808. These were apparently kept at Conde's residence. It was decided that if the research group became separated during the War of Independence, the last of them to remain in Madrid would return the borrowed codices to the Biblioteca Real. But that library has no record of this. Nevertheless, Lang asserts that George Ticknor, a student of Conde's at the time, "saw and studied" the codex at the Real in 1818 (p. 26).[1] Possibly the Cancionero manuscript, among others, was returned, without any note being made to that effect, and another party again removed it, selling or donating it to Conde's estate upon his death (Ochoa, p. vi).

Lang contends that after Conde's heirs acquired the document, they probably sold it to the English bibliophile, Richard Heber (p. 26). Azáceta, though, maintains that it was acquired by a Mr. Thorpe at the auction of Conde's books on 6 July 1824 for a sum of £131, and that from Thorpe it passed into the hands of Richard Heber (vol. 1, p. lxxxviii). At the auction of Richard Heber's books in London in 1836, there were only two folios and part of a third missing from the codex. If more than that had been missing, the price of 1575 francs[2] paid by the Parisian library would not be justified in the view of one nineteenth-century French hispanist. Achille Jubinal, in an oblique criticism in which he casts aspersions on the professional integrity of librarians at the Bibliothèque Nationale, says as much in his Examen d'un certain nombre de manuscrits appartenant à différents fonds de la Bibliothèque Nationale avec l'indication des mutilations qu'ils ont subies (1850):

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[1] Ticknor again studied the Cancionero de Baena in 1838, but this time at the Nationale in Paris as MS 1932 (Lang, p. 26).

[2] Lang (p. 26), Rodríguez-Moñino (p. 140), and Azáceta (vol. 1, p. lxxxviii) all agree that Téchener bought the manuscript at the auction of Heber's collection for the sum of £63. According to Lang (ibid.) and Azáceta (ibid.), the Bibliothèque Nationale acquired it from Téchener for 1800 francs. On the other hand, Rodríguez-Moñino (pp. 140, 147) quotes the price of 1575 francs, having gotten this likely more accurate figure from Achille Jubinal's pamphlet.

> ... Nous savons par le catalogue de vente qu'en 1836 il ne manquait que deux feuillets et une portion d'un troisième, à ce manuscrit. La preuve que ceci était exact, c'est que la vente s'est faite à un très haut prix, sans réclamation. L'annonce d'une imperfection grave dans le manuscrit, imperfection dont le catalogue n'eût point fait mention, aurait certes amené des réclamations ou une revente pour un achat si précieux. Or, la vente a été maintenue: il n'y a eu ni observations, ni récriminations, donc le catalogue était exact. Actuellement il manque à ce manuscrit les feuillets 6, 7, 37, 45, (131 ou 132 ou 133), 144, 162 (mutilé), 168, en tout six feuillets enlevés et un feuillet mutilé. C'est quatre feuillets de plus que n'en accuse le catalogue, quatre feuillets perdus par conséquent depuis que le manuscrit est entré à la Bibliothèque nationale...." (Rodríguez-Moñino, p. 149)

Claudine Potvin, on a visit to the Bibliothèque in the spring of 1990, noted that Hispanic manuscript no. 37--the Cancionero--contains the following note: "Manquant pp. 6-7-37-44-132-144-168; constaté le 8 oct. 1953." (Letter, 9 August 1990). These could very well be the notes of Rodríguez-Moñino whose article under discussion was published in the Hispanic Review in 1959, or perhaps of José María Azáceta whose three-volume edition appeared in 1966. It should strike the reader immediately that Jubinal's numbers do not correspond to those read by Potvin. Azáceta also notes the discrepancy between the folios actually missing and Jubinal's numbers, and, moreover, doubts the objectivity of Jubinal's accusations on the basis that they arose out of personal resentment because he had been refused service at the Bibliothèque. For Azáceta, it is hard to understand how such a prestigious institution can arrive at a state of abandon that would give rise to such losses. Given that Jubinal "no da con exactitud los folios perdidos", Azáceta concludes that "[s]eguramente el códice llegó en su estado actual a la Biblioteca parisina y los folios se perdieron en el accidentado caminar de Segovia a Granada, y de aquí a El Escorial, Inglaterra y Francia" (Azáceta, vol. 1, p. xxv).

Of more immediate concern to our edition is the missing fol. 144. The photographic reproduction of the Cancionero de Baena, published in 1926, contains a blank leaf after fol. 141 and the actual foliation clearly shows a skip from no. 143 to no. 145. Bearing that in mind, let us see how Lang, in his foreword to that edition, attempts to explain the missing fol. 144:

> After the folio numbered 141 there is one without number, followed by two numbered 142, 143. After these we find two numbered 145, 146, with omission of 144. At the end of the folio numbered 143 we have a *requesta* of one stanza by Juan Alfonso de Baena, no. 417 of the Madrid edition ("Pues que la flor de toda Castylla". In l. 3 read: está derrama[ndo]). This piece is followed by the *finida* ("Por ende, señores, por esto porfyo") which stands at the head of the folio numbered 145. Both in its subject-matter and in its rhyme-scheme (-*on* instead of -*illa*) this *finida* is at variance with the preceding stanza, and must consequently have belonged to a different composition occupying with others a preceding folio which should have borne the number 143. The sequence would thus have been 141, 142 (containing on its verso no. 417), 143 (containing some 136 verses now lost), 144 (containing the *finida* in question, etc.), 145 etc. (3-4)

Tittmann, though, observes that the 1926 facsimile is not altogether accurate in its reproduction of the Paris codex. In his opinion, Lang assumes "that the blank pages in the facsimile, obviously part of the photographic process, actually represent blank folios" (190n.). Upon viewing the facsimile, we note that Tittmann may have in mind the blank folio 142, found between those numbered 141 and 143, confusing the matter even further. There is no question that the missing folio is no. 144.

This brings to a conclusion our overview of the manuscript now known as the *Cancionero de Baena* and the many problems, palaeographic and historical, associated with it. We can now proceed to an examination of all printed editions of the anthology.

IV. The Printed Editions of the Cancionero de Baena

The printed editions of the Cancionero de Baena in chronological order include: Eugenio de Ochoa's edition with a foreword by the Marqués de Pidal (Madrid, 1851); Francisque Michel's edition (Leipzig, 1860); Henry Lang's facsimile edition (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1926); the Buenos Aires edition of 1949, purportedly a reprint of the 1851 edition, published by Editorial Anaconda; José María Azáceta's edition of 1966, published by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas; and Michael Kelly Morgan's doctoral dissertation entitled A Transcription and Concordance of the "Cancionero de Baena" (Univ. of Wisconsin, 1974).

The three original printed editions of the Cancionero de Baena, i.e., 1851, 1860, and 1949, are quite interrelated. Much of the critical apparatus of Eugenio de Ochoa's 1851 Madrid edition was included as part and parcel of the 1860 Leipzig edition arranged by the renowned French textologist Francisque Michel. The 1949 edition published in Buenos Aires by Editorial Anaconda added nothing new and was but a reprint of Ochoa's 1851 text with new errors introduced into it. Azáceta's 1966 edition, on the other hand, was somewhat of a fresh beginning since the poems were transcribed anew from the manuscript. At the same time, however, it appeared to rely to a certain extent on the 1949 Argentine edition. The following section examines the salient features and problems surrounding each of the printed editions of the Cancionero de Baena.

A. The 1851 Ochoa-Pidal Edition

No printed edition of Baena's anthology existed until 1851, when the collaborative efforts of Eugenio de Ochoa and the Marqués Pedro José de Pidal made this possible. This edition, as a text in itself, reflects to some extent editorial practices prevalent in what Foulet and Speer call the "empirical period" of textual editing that dominated in the first six decades of the last century. The motives for its publication--its value as an historical artifact--also reflect attitudes and the eminence of science in European society as a whole during the nineteenth century.

Spain during the 1840s was beginning to emerge from the Romantic period and Realism was beginning to take precedence as an outgrowth of it. One of the important features of Romanticism was the glorification of the national past, reflected in the writing of fictional works based on historical and legendary events of that past: nationalism was, after all, one of the main driving forces of European socio-politics in the 1800s. It could be said that by writing about the past in a fictional mode, history was made myth and the greatness of a people was laid bare for all to see. This is evidenced, for instance, in the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott. In Spain we can think of similar examples, particularly in the area of theatre: Martínez de la Rosa's La conjuración de Venecia (1834), the Duque de Rivas' Don Alvaro, o la fuerza del sino (1835), Hartzenbusch's Los amantes de Teruel (1837), García Gutiérrez's El trovador (1836), and Zorrilla's Don Juan Tenorio (1844). In these works, we are plunged into a mythic world (the world of Don Juan, for instance) or into a legendary medieval setting replete with anachronisms as well as exposés and colourful descriptions of social and cultural practices of a given time and place. This need to paint social customs with the written word was prevalent throughout Western Europe and gave rise during the early days of realism to what became known in Spain as "cuadros de costumbres". This literary phenomenon was not unique to Spain, however, as England and France had earlier manifestations of "costumbrismo". To some degree, the examination of a people's cultural practices, besides reflecting a nationalist sentiment, was owed in large part to the gradual emergence of the social sciences coincidental with new views on the evolution of species which would culminate in the theories of Charles Darwin and Alfred Wallace: one line of thought was that if species could evolve, and if humans are among those that have evolved, then the factor separating homo sapiens from all other species must be culture. Must that not also evolve?

Thus, human society had become but another phenomenon, capable of being observed under the objective eye of the social scientist whose task would be to theorize upon it. All manner of educated persons participated in the uncovering of evidence: historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, palaeontologists, sociologists, demographers, statisticians, linguists... and literary historians. Science became more and more specialized as people began to search for and unearth ancient bones and artifacts from the very ground on which their forebears had trod for centuries.[1] In this dynamic climate, authors appropriated for themselves a new social role. The realist movement was in many ways the cultural manifestation of the scientific positivism which characterized the age. Authors were mere observers or "secretaries", as

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[1] For a more detailed study of social movements and the rise of the social sciences in the nineteenth century see Daniel J. Boorstin's The Discoverers, "Part XII: Cataloguing the Whole Creation" (pp. 419-76), "Part XIV: Opening the Past" (pp. 557-624), and "Part XV: Surveying the Present" (pp. 625-84).

Balzac stated so clearly in his oft-quoted "Avant-propos" to the Comédie humaine.[1]

A literary sub-genre emerged from the Romantics' obsession with national history: the book of customs. This first appeared in England in a collection entitled Heads of the People, or Portraits of the English (1840-41) in which "se proponía el estudio sistemático de los tipos representativos de un país reuniéndolos en una colección" (Navas Ruiz, El romanticismo español, p. 337). The French were soon to follow with Les Français peints par eux-mêmes (1841-42). Spain produced its own two-volume "libro de costumbres" under the borrowed title Los españoles pintados por sí mismos (1843-44). The project's promoter, Ignacio Boix, provided guidelines which authors of these "cuadros de costumbres" were expected to follow. Navas Ruiz summarizes them:

> Se define la palabra que designa al tipo y a veces se busca su etimología. Se indaga el origen o antecedentes históricos del personaje. Se describe minuciosamente el traje, el peinado, el comportamiento y las variantes, si cabe. Este método descriptivo fue muy popular por entonces y se le conoce con el nombre de fisiología, tomado de la ciencia médica. (p. 338)

And here we arrive at the prime motivating factor for the publication of the Cancionero de Baena in 1851: for literary historians of the nineteenth century it is a medieval "cuadro de costumbres". Commenting on literary works in general, the Marqués de Pidal, in his study preceding Ochoa's transcription of the Cancionero, states that "es ya casi un axioma generalmente admitido que la literatura en general, pero más especialmente la poesía, es un reflejo de la sociedad contemporánea, un retrato al vivo de sus afectos, creencias y pasiones" (p. xliii).[2] He notes, on the other hand, that the

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[1] Balzac initially defines his role as "secretary", while French society itself is the unwitting "historian" (Comédie humaine, vol. 1, p. 11). Nevertheless, this metaphor becomes somewhat muddled later on when he asserts that he must also interpret what he has recorded: "...ne devais-je pas étudier les raisons ou la raison de ces effets sociaux, surprendre le sens caché dans cet immense assemblage de figures, de passions et d'événements?" (vol. 1, p. 11). Whence the "Etudes analytiques" and the "Etudes philosophiques".

[2] This whole idea of presenting a "physiology" of society in literature can be traced back to Balzac's La Comédie humaine. The work itself is divided into three major sections: 1) "Etudes de moeurs", 2) "Etudes philosophiques", and 3) "Etudes analytiques". The first section is the one containing the depictions of social customs, bringing together various social types and settings. It is divided into six sub-groups with the works in each of these presenting scenes from private life, provincial life, Parisian life, political life, military life, and country life. It

(continued...)

verse of the Baena's anthology, hardly reflects the social strife of fifteenth-century Castile:

> Los caballeros más duros y bravos, los que más se complacían en los combates y en las lides campales, escriben, al tomar la pluma, como enamorados donceles y como suaves Adonis, como conceptistas y metafísicos, sin que jamás se encuentre en sus versos la menor alusion á sus hechos de armas ni á sus empresas guerreras, ni á las tremendas y sangrientas catástrofes que solían terminarlas. (p. xliv)

A true reflection of society, in Pidal's view, is to be found in the romances of the age. The poetry of the "cancioneros" is to be construed as "un hecho social de una época determinada" (p. xlvi), of interest only to historians and social scientists. In his concluding remarks, though, he seems to praise this aspect of the Cancionero de Baena, observing that its poetry is "un cuadro[1] fiel y exacto de la poesía cortesana de los siglos XIV y XV" (p. lxxix) and stating that the same cannot be said of Hernando del Castillo's Cancionero general, published some seventy years later. Along these same "costumbrista" lines, he concludes that the Baenian collection has "un cierto carácter de actualidad y de localidad de que carece completamente el de Castillo" (p. lxxix).

Allusion has already been made to the fact that the 1851 edition of the Cancionero reflects editorial practices of the empirical period. Manuscripts were artifacts to be examined, measured, and documented, and when they were published, every attempt was made to be as faithful to the text as possible. As Foulet and Speer point out, "From about 1830 on, editors took more seriously the archival aspect of their work" (p. 4). Still, there were no standardized rules of transcription, and readers placed their faith in the ability and experience of the editor in reading old script and transcribing it accurately.

Eugenio de Ochoa uses the prologue to reassure the reader that his transcription is indeed as accurate as it can

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[2](...continued) is in his discussion of the "Etudes analytiques" found in the "avant-propos" to the entire work where the medical analogy is best brought out. He notes that he has prepared but one work in this group, La Physiologie du mariage, and that others are planned with names such as Pathologie de la vie sociale, Anatomie de la vertu, and Monographie de la vertu (vol. 1, p. 19).

[1] The emphasis is ours. It would also be interesting to note that in the opening paragraph of his foreword, Pidal refers to the Cancionero as a "monumento" (p. xi)--read artifact--a remnant from an earlier age which merits the exhaustive scrutiny of the scientist.

possibly be. On a previous visit to France, he made a handwritten copy of the manuscript and brought it back to Spain to prepare the edition. The Marqués de Pidal, seeing that Ochoa was working on the Cancionero, used his influence to persuade the French government to lend them the codex for two months. By that time, however, printing was already under way, so they used the manuscript to correct the proofs. According to Ochoa, the differences were so slight and insignificant that it was deemed unnecessary to begin their work anew.

It is not our intention here to enumerate the many errors and flaws that the Ochoa-Pidal edition of 1851 contains. The variants that will be provided in the poetic text will do better justice to that aspect of the edition. Suffice it to say that this first printed edition is replete with errors. The most obvious one is the erroneous transcription of the "s" with the horizontally elongated upper curve--"ς"--as "s" and not as "z", an error which will appear in all subsequent published editions. In all instances where this "ς" occurs in the codex, modern Spanish will spell the word with a "z" or a "soft c" representing the phoneme [θ]. This type of "s" occurs only in these cases and is much more common than the modern "z", which one encounters but seldom. The initial and intervocalic "long s" as well as the final "short s" can be clearly distinguished from the "s" with the upper horizontal elongation.

The edition in question also fails to show where abbreviations have been resolved. The editors emend freely and often transcribe the abbreviated "nuestro" and "vuestro" as "nostro" and "vestro", perhaps unknowingly, perhaps to add an archaic flavour to the text. Azáceta observes that

> En general se puede decir que la lectura dada por la edición de Madrid es notablemente defectuosa. Omite palabras, versos y, en algún caso, hasta estrofas, sin razón alguna para ello, y, en cambio, no acusa otras veces la falta de versos que dejan mancas determinadas estrofas. No hace referencia alguna a las enmiendas del códice en forma de palabras y versos interlineados y tachaduras, que modifican el texto. Tampoco hace uso adecuado de los apóstrofos cuando ha habido elisión de alguna vocal. La numeración correlativa de los poemas ... no coincide con la realidad, debido a que se han fundido en no pocos casos dos y tres composiciones.... Ni siquiera el cambio de tema, de rima y aun de versificación, han sido suficientes para hacer ver que había dos entidades poéticas fundidas. Con ello esta edición ha ido transmitiendo una serie de malas lecturas y errores, que se han reparado en parte posteriormente. (vol. 1, p. liv)

It should also be stated that some of the lacunae found in the Ochoa-Pidal edition are there not through oversight or difficulty in reading, but because the editors consciously and purposefully censored the text, leaving out words that were taboo in nineteenth-century usage. We have here a clear example of a puritanism characteristic of the bourgeois ideology of the age. Two noteworthy instances of this censorship are found in CB 395, l. 24 where "pixa e cojones" is discreetly replaced by an ellipsis, and in CB 418, l. 6 where the infinitive "foder" (modern "joder") was excised. Still, the editors are quite selective in what they do and do not censor. Explicit references to the genitalia or to the sexual act are left out, but auditory and olfactory allusions to intestinal gas ("pedos", "estornudos") and its means of escape ("rabo") are left in: CB 425, ll. 84-85, "yo vos faré estornudar / tres pedos d'asna morena", and CB 435, ll. 1-2, "Anoche en la cama dy dos estornudos / fynos de rrabo después de çenar". Thus, contemporary readers were titillated but not excessively.

Notwithstanding its faults, this premier edition has much that is praiseworthy. Morgan notes in this respect that "[t]here is an obvious concern for detail" (p. 22). He credits Ochoa as the first to add punctuation to the poems. The glossary at the back of the book, though not exhaustive and at times erroneous, serves its purpose well. Furthermore, the collaborative aspect of this work enhances its overall quality, especially where the extensive geographical and biographical research in the endnotes prepared with the help of Agustín Durán and Pascual de Gayangos is concerned. Unfortunately, endnote reference marks are not given in the poems and it is only by turning to the end of the volume that one can ascertain whether commentary on a certain word or passage is provided.

B. Francisque Michel's 1860 Leipzig Edition

Even though Francisque Michel published his two-volume edition[1] in Leipzig nine years after Pidal and Ochoa published theirs, he had been working on it long before anybody else had even begun to transcribe the manuscript, according to Azáceta who bases this assertion on a series of letters between Michel and others (vol. 1, pp. lv-lvi). This task proved too weighty for the renowned French editor and he apparently hoped for some catastrophe that would free him of his burden (Azáceta, vol. 1, p. lvi). Nevertheless, Michel did provide us with a much more accurate transcription than his Iberian predecessors. That should not be surprising: he was, after all, responsible for the *editio princeps* of the Oxford manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland* and was "one of the most gifted and indefatigable editors" of the empirical period of textual editing, according to Foulet and Speer (p. 4). These authors also add that "Michel had excellent flair, but he worked independently and never tried to formulate rules for handling texts" (p. 5). He may never have followed strict rules in transcribing texts, but it seems he did try to observe certain norms. He used round brackets to indicate where he had corrected the text, but sometimes did not correct where such an action was called for, and other times emended when it was not necessary. One can see conscious emendation on his part in *CB* 37, Baena's *planto* written on the death of Enrique III in 1406. He emends the word "consona<n>tes" in the rubric as follows: "E otrosý va por arte común doblada, é los consona(n)tes van muy bien guardados" (vol. 1, p. 43). Another example can be found in the text of the poem, l. 7: "á Dios é á la Virgen lança(n)do centellas" (vol. 1, p. 43). Note in this line how he omits the redundant cedilla in the word "centellas", clearly written as "çentellas" in the manuscript, and which he faithfully transcribes in other words: "fallesçido" (l. 4), "preçes" (l. 16), "alçe" (l. 18). In fact, the omission of the ubiquitous redundant cedilla of fifteenth-century Castilian orthography is perhaps Michel's most common transcriptional oversight, apart from the already mentioned faulty transcription of "z" as "s" which has plagued all editions of the *Cancionero de Baena* until now. One will often see words in the Michel edition where the cedilla has been left out, while two words later, it will be written in. In the manuscript, it is a hard and fast rule that a voiceless sibilant represented by "c" is almost always written as "ç". In the rare cases where it is left out, this can be attributed perhaps to a growing recognition of the redundancy of the practice.

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[1] The two-volumes are bound in one tome, but the pagination is not continuous: volume two begins anew at page 1.

An illustration of where Michel brought an unnecessary emendation to the text is found in *CB* 160, a petitionary poem written by Villasandino to Don Sancho de Rojas, the Archbishop of Toledo. Line 24 reads "de algu*n*os a ssyn razon" (there is clearly a tilde over the "u" indicating the omission of the "n"), but Michel emends this same line as "de algu(n)os á ssynrazon". Other such instances can be found throughout this edition and we will bring these to the attention of the reader in the variants accompanying our transcription.

Michel's edition, in general terms, is a curious bibliographic specimen that can only be called a "hybrid". While he provided his own version of the poems and already had some notes prepared to accompany them, he replaced the latter with those of the Ochoa-Pidal edition upon permission of the authors (Azáceta vol. 1, p. lvi) and opened the work with Pidal's study of early Castilian poetry. Although Azáceta would claim otherwise (vol. 1, p. lvi), Michel did not copy the Ochoa-Pidal index, but included his own. This can be easily ascertained by closely comparing the two.[1] He also chose not to include the glossary of the Madrid edition. Finally, this edition can be faulted for not having introduced a numbering system to the approximately 600 poems found in the codex. The Ochoa-Pidal numbering system became standard and was modified only slightly by Azáceta who added the word "bis" to fragments of poems attached to other poems in the 1851 edition (e.g., 417bis, a fragment of a poem by Juan Alfonso de Baena which begins on fol. 145, and was no doubt the fynida to a poem found on the lost fol. 144). While Ochoa failed to notice such an abrupt change in theme and rhyme-scheme (a few examples are 7bis, 31bis, 301bis, 340bis), Michel in most cases did, and indicated as much in footnotes. Nevertheless these fragments or non-sequiturs sometimes managed to evade him too. But unlike the Madrid editors, he was more careful to note other significant markings in the manuscript, such as the cross in the right margin beside line 19 of CB 361 on fol. 133v, which--conjecturally speaking--may be a pictorial referent for the pronoun "esta" at the end of that same line, meant to complete the idea without fouling the rhyme.

C. The 1949 Buenos Aires Edition

While the 1949 Argentine edition of the Cancionero de Baena published at Buenos Aires by Editorial Anaconda is supposed to be a reprint of the Pidal-Ochoa edition of 1851, it is, at best, an "inexact" one (Morgan, p. 28). In fact, the new errors it contains do a great disservice to Cancionero studies, and it should be avoided as a basis for any type of literary investigation. It does reproduce Ochoa's foreword, Pidal's analysis of medieval poetry, and all the indices and notes of the 1851 edition, but it also introduces new spelling errors into the poems and rubrics. No doubt this happened as a result of proofreaders correcting what they perceived as "errors" but which were actually a faithful copy of the Ochoa transcription. In other instances, words were omitted altogether. Poems 397 to 405 have been chosen to illustrate the corruptions introduced into the 1949 edition.

A fragment of the rubric introducing CB 397 reads "en manera de rrequesta contra él é los otros trobadores" in the 1851 edition. The Anaconda version has left out the definite article "los", so that the rubric reads "e otros trobadores". The opening line of the rubric of CB 398, according to the Madrid edition, should read "Este desir fiso é ordenó el dicho Alvar Ruys de Toro..." Anaconda omits "fiso", so that in it we read "Este desir é ordenó el dicho Alvar Ruys de Toro..." Line 14 of CB 401 is given as "la recta rrasson notable, modesta" in Pidal-Ochoa, but the same line in Anaconda reads "la recta rrason notable, modesta", the double "s" of "rrasson" having become single in the so-called reprint. Whereas line 1 of *CB* 403 reads "Señor muy graçioso, açerca el Dagayo..." in the 1851 edition, Anaconda gives "Señor muy graçioso, açerca del Dagayo..." Finally, in *CB* 405, the opening line is rendered as "Señor exçelente, comigo me trayo" in Ochoa-Pidal, while Anaconda modernizes "comigo" to "conmigo". It seems, therefore, that the editors or proofreaders who worked on the Anaconda edition were often careless in their verification of proofs and some were perhaps unfamiliar with the orthographic inconsistencies of late medieval Castilian.

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[1] See Morgan, who gives a more detailed commentary on differences between Ochoa's index and Michel's (pp. 26-27).

D. The 1926 Facsimile Edition

In 1926 the Hispanic Society of America published a beautiful photographically reproduced facsimile of the Parisian codex. The photographs are printed on high-quality, heavy bond paper, one on each side of the page in such a way as to reproduce the manuscript as faithfully as possible. They are unbound and a portfolio of equally high quality was designed to contain them. This edition gives credit to the art of book-making which, in this age of mass-produced hard-covers and soft-covers on cheap paper, has sadly become a lost art, or at least a rare and costly one.

It should be noted that the facsimile is not made to scale. The original codex, according to Azáceta's measurements, was 410 millimetres in length by 260 millimetres in width (vol. 1, p. xix). The actual leaves of the facsimile, i.e., the pages on which the photographed folios of the document are overlaid, measure 420 millimetres in length by 292 millimetres in width. The manuscript pages themselves, all centred on the individual leaves, vary between 376 and 381 millimetres in length by 249 to 253 millimetres in width.

Much has been made of the Arabic numeration of the folios at the top right corner of the recto side of each. Many times, the outer edges of the manuscript pages were probably out of the camera's lens range, which resulted in many of the numbers being cut off. Still, most of the numbers do appear, allowing the critic to verify the proper foliation of the facsimile.

Another problem is the insertion of blank leaves in the facsimile which are otherwise not present in the original manuscript. This causes Lang to confuse the issue of missing folios, especially where folio 144 is concerned. He attributes it to a fault in numeration[1], and obviously never saw the original manuscript. In effect, Rodríguez-Moñino quotes a passage from Achille Jubinal's Examen d'un certain nombre de manuscrits... where the latter reports that the absence of fol. 144 has left very evident traces, the root of the torn or cut page being visible all along the length of the binding (Rodríguez-Moñino, p. 148). As mentioned previously, these "blank folios"--a better term would be "blank pages"--are a result of the photographing of the manuscript. A close examination of the facsimile reveals two blank pages between fols. 41 and 42, one between fols. 129 and 130, one between fols. 141 and 142, and one between fols. 167 and 169. There are also two more blank sheets after the last folio of the codex, i.e., fol. 202. The fact that all of these, except for the last occurrence, are placed near the location of the actual missing folios of the manuscript may be pure coincidence, or could more likely be an unsuccessful attempt by the editors to imitate the actual appearance of the manuscript.

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[1] See our discussion of Lang's confusion in folio numbering on pages 31-32 of the current study.

Nevertheless, the facsimile edition has proven to be an indispensable research tool for those scholars who are unable to go to Paris to view the original document. The notes found in Henry Lang's foreword, comprising six pages at the beginning of the edition or thirty-three pages in the monograph published independently from the edition, provide useful commentary and either corroborate or refute previously held ideas of the poems and their authors. Furthermore, the actual photographs allow researchers to verify for themselves the observations of other critics with regard to the poetry of the Cancionero de Baena in its original state.

E. Azáceta's 1966 Edition

This edition, bound in three volumes with continuous pagination, printed on heavy bond paper, and containing the lengthy "Dezir que fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena", is a treasure trove of information on the anthology's history and an excellent source of bibliography, attesting to Azáceta's reputation as a thorough researcher. At the same time, it puts his skills as an editor into some doubt. Since its publication by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in 1966, it has--unfortunately--become the "received standard" from which all scholars have henceforth quoted. Undoubtedly the scholarly community has been misled by the work's outer quality and erudite foreword which belies its many inner defects as a "critical edition". The time-worn admonition to never judge a book by its cover should especially be heeded in this case. As an "edition" of the Cancionero de Baena, it is sadly lacking in those most important of ingredients: accuracy and consistency. Azáceta, or his collaborators[1], seem to have gone about their task pell-mell and have corrupted some hitherto uncorrupted passages.

In the introductory chapters to this edition Azáceta states that he used the Buenos Aires edition (1949) as the reference for quoting passages (vol. 1, p. iv, n. 2), while he used the Ochoa-Pidal edition of 1851 as the basis of comparison for his transcription (vol. 1, p. liv). He observes that certain things are required of his edition:

> En primer lugar se hacía necesario ofrecer el texto debidamente transcrito, depurado y libre de los errores de las transcripciones anteriores.... También precisaba poner al día y enmendar algunas notas críticas de P.J. Pidal, para indicar una serie de aportaciones posteriores a su edición... Esto por un lado; por otro, la exposición de variantes (que se realiza por primera vez en esta edición)... (vol. 1, p. lxxxix)

Out of these three needs that a new critical edition requires, he has fulfilled the last two, but has largely failed in providing a transcription free of errors, as Morgan so rightly pointed out (29-30). Dr. Azáceta purports that he only regularized the use of the i's (vowel) and j's (voiced palatal fricative) according to modern Castilian usage and that, in all cases, he respected the late medieval differentiation between ç, c, s, ss, z, u, and v. With respect to s, ss, and z, this is hardly the case. As in all prior editions, he does not differentiate the "s" from the "ς" (with the elongated upper horizontal curve), the latter being rendered in modern Spanish as "z" or "c" depending on the controlling vowel.[2] As the table of variants will show, Azáceta's edition sometimes prints double consonants where there were only single consonants in the codex and single consonants where the codex clearly showed a doubling. He sometimes transcribes "i" as "y" or vice-versa, and will on occasion print "b" when the manuscript clearly showed a "v" or "u".[1]

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[1] Morgan points out that Azáceta probably had his students help him in his task: "The quality of the Azáceta transcription is unfortunately inconsistent. A careful comparison of this edition with the facsimile reproduction of the manuscript indicates that Azáceta's editorial use of the first person plural is probably more than a stylistic device" (p. 29). He clarifies this in a footnote stating that, "Although he mentions no collaborators, Azáceta dedicates his work to 'los alumnos de la Universidad Laboral de Tarragona, estudiosos, alegres, llenos de sanas inquietudes'" (p. 29n.).

[2] The Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas warned palaeographers of this frequent error in Normas de transcripción y edición de textos y documentos which it published in 1944 (p. 6).

José María Azáceta has called his edition "critical". If we examine his work in the light of Christopher Kleinhenz's definition of the modern "critical edition" (p. 276), then he has fulfilled all aspects of it but one. Azáceta has provided an erudite introduction which gives valuable information on the author's life and work. He discusses the manuscript and all extant printed editions at length, examines the chronology of works, and provides the general criteria for his edition. Yet, he has failed to provide a sound reading of the text. Two critics have faulted the learned hispanist in this respect.

In his doctoral dissertation, Michael Morgan maintains that the only thing making this a critical edition is the "notation of many of the transcriptional variants found in the earlier editions of the Cancionero" (p. 29). Giuliano Macchi is somewhat more acerbic in his review of the 1966 edition found in Cultura Neolatina. Criticizing it for an amethodological approach, he argues that "critical" is a qualifier not befitting Azáceta's work. As far as Macchi is concerned, it is a hybrid edition, falling somewhere between a critical edition and a diplomatic one, the latter being the stronger influence of the two (p. 185). He observes that the introductory chapters appear to have been written independently of one another, since they often replicate information that has already been presented. He proposes a re-ordering of the chapters as follows: II, IX, III, VI, V, VIII, I, IV, VII, X (p. 185). Finally, Macchi directs harsh words at the critical apparatus, noting the heterogeneous content of the footnotes which, in his opinion, only create confusion for the reader:

> In questo quadro di larga ametodicità e confusione si inserisce l'organizzazione esterna dell'edizione. L'Azáceta non tiene distinti apparato e note, ma mescola assieme tumultuosamente tutta una serie di informazioni eterogenee, che perciò andavano tenute ben separate: varianti, letture di altre edizioni, lezioni del manoscritto rigettate, glosse marginali ed altre particolarità paleografiche, commenti e notizie dell'editore, ecc. (p. 186)

Such harsh criticism is not fully warranted in our opinion. Azáceta's skills as an editor may be questionable, but his skills as a researcher have helped to clarify certain aspects of the poems which might otherwise remain elusive to the less seasoned scholar. And though the poems may not be orthographically consistent, they are nonetheless quite accurate in their content. The Cancionero de Baena is indeed a work of monumental proportions and for one man to have even tackled it in itself is a testament to human perseverance. Still, scholars should have recourse to the facsimile edition of 1926 if they desire the "unadulterated" versions of the poems.

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[1] Morgan provides a detailed commentary on this aspect of Azáceta's edition, showing where double consonants were simplified and where single consonants were doubled, as well as confusing transcriptions where letters representing the same phoneme--such as i and y or b and v--were erroneously transcribed (pp. 30-38).

F. Morgan's Transcription and Concordance

A Transcription and Concordance of the "Cancionero de Baena" is the title of Michael K. Morgan's doctoral dissertation completed at the University of Wisconsin in 1974. We feel obliged to include it among the printed editions of the Cancionero de Baena, since we have quoted from it extensively and believe that it serves as a valuable research tool in Baenian studies. At the same time, it should be noted that we have not included his transcription of the manuscript in the table of variants accompanying the poetic texts. There are three reasons for this:

1) Although it is in the "public domain", to consider it "published" would be improper, since the only extant publicly accessible transcription can be consulted at the University of Wisconsin library.[1]

2) It can hardly be construed as a transcription in the normal sense of the word. It was prepared in computer-readable format using what is already obsolete technology. In the early 1970s, lower- and upper-case characters, much less foreign accents, were not commonly output on computer printers.[2] Because data was entered by means of punch-cards which allowed only a fixed number of characters per line,[3] and because information had to be coded in a certain way for the machine to be able to read it, the output is hardly legible for our purposes nor is it a reliable guide where accuracy is paramount.

3) The author himself acknowledges that his intent is not to provide a "critical" edition, much less any edition of the

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[1] The main body of Morgan's dissertation is published "on demand" by University Microfilms, but the actual transcription is only available for perusal at the University of Wisconsin library.

[2] Many printers then only produced upper-case characters, Hindu-Arabic numerals, and basic punctuation marks. "Word processing" as a computer application was still in an embryonic stage.

[3] Morgan acknowledges having used punch-cards that allowed only eighty characters per line (p. 44).

Cancionero de Baena. This is envisaged for a later date. His only purpose is to "provide an accurate, reliable concordance" of the manuscript, adding that the transcription "is actually a by-product of the concordance itself" (p. 40). Moreover, the vocabulary he provides with all the variants in spelling included is to be incorporated into the dictionary of Medieval Spanish currently in preparation at the Seminary of Medieval Spanish Studies at the University of Wisconsin (p. 13).

From the external evidence, one is to assume that Morgan has prepared what amounts to a diplomatic transcription of the manuscript. As in the present edition, he has used the facsimile of the Cancionero de Baena. However, he has also "endeavored ... to reproduce exactly the original orthography of the manuscript, including all j's" (p. 34). Carleton Carroll, in his article "Medieval Romance Paleography", has pointed out the inherent dangers of relying on diplomatic transcriptions, noting that "it is best to be highly suspicious of the accuracy of any diplomatic edition which one has not personally verified by means of careful comparison with the manuscript it purports to represent" (p. 48). In other words, it is best to "start from square one" in such an endeavour, relying on the manuscript itself or an exact reproduction of it, either a photograph or a photocopy. Otherwise, errors are born and inevitably begin to perpetuate themselves: sound advice for editors of all levels of experience.

The introduction of Morgan's dissertation is nevertheless full of valuable information and commentary on the previous printed editions of the Cancionero de Baena. It also provides valuable commentary of a philological nature on many words which appear in Baena's poems, and we shall have further recourse to it in the lexicological commentary found in the notes to the poems.

V. Format of This Edition

A. The Transcription

In preparing this edition, we have transcribed the facsimile of the manuscript with the utmost care and have tried to respect its orthography at all times, since "spelling is now recognized as an essential characteristic of an author, or at least of his time and locality" (Thorpe, Watching the P's and Q's, p. 2). However, to simplify the modern scholar's task of reading the text, and given that our aim is a "critical" edition, rather than a "palaeographic" or "diplomatic" one, we have observed the following exceptions to this general principle, and feel that they detract in no way from the "medievalness" of the text. Indeed, by adhering to the principle of fidelity to the original text, uniformity in transcription, and careful proofreading, this edition surpasses previous ones which, as was shown in our earlier survey of those works, were replete with errors and often disregarded the methodologies they purported to follow:

a) Since i's and j's are written interchangeably in the codex, they have been regularized according to their modern phonetic values. Also, all y's with a vocalic quality have been transcribed as y, and not as i. This is not standard practice in previous editions of the Cancionero de Baena which sometimes seem to transcribe the letter randomly as y or i.

b) All u's and v's have been regularized with regard to their modern phonetic values. B's and v's are transcribed as they appear in the codex. Again, previous editions, such as those by Ochoa-Pidal, Michel, and Azáceta, sometimes transcribe a b where a v or u is present, and a v or u where a b is present.

c) Unlike all previous published editions, but as Morgan proposes in his doctoral dissertation,[1] we have respected the difference between the various sibilants which appear in the codex, and which Ochoa (and therefore, Anaconda), Michel, and Azáceta have all rendered as s. Since those editions follow this practice with almost predictable regularity--i.e., where either a ç or a z might appear in modern Spanish, they give s--we have decided that it is neither necessary nor practical to include these as variants. Suffice it to say that those above-mentioned editions render z when the codex gives a letter obviously resembling a modern z. However, when the z resembles an s , as it most often does (but with the characteristic elongated upper curve), these same editions, as a rule, render it as s. When they do transcribe this s-like letter as *z*, it is most likely due to oversight on their part, having automatically written the "modern" spelling through sheer force of habit.

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[1] Although we have not had the opportunity to view Morgan's transcription, he says that he takes care to differentiate between the various sibilants (p. 33).

d) At times words that would normally be spelled with a *ç* are spelled with a *c* (no cedilla). Previous editors have not always respected this and usually put a cedilla under all sibilant *c*'s, whether or not it appeared in the manuscript. We have decided to present the words without the cedilla--as they appear in the manuscript--since it shows that even though the predominant practice was to write these words with a cedilla, the same was evidently beginning to be viewed as redundant.

e) Transcription of words beginning with the letter *r* proved very problematic at first. There are three types of *r* that indicate a doubling of that consonant: "ʀ", "rr", and "ɍ", the latter example being found only in *CB* 37. Words that clearly begin with the single letter *r*, "r", have been transcribed as they appear in the MS[1] and the reader may rest assured that their presence in this edition is not an oversight on our part.

We went to great lengths to ensure accuracy in the transcription of *r* and *rr*, since a quick gloss of previous editions and the variants they present reveal a patent lack of consistency in their treatment of this consonant, sometimes doubling it when it appears as single, and very often rendering it single when it reads doubled.

All words beginning with *r* and *rr* were highlighted in our draft transcription, and then checked and rechecked in the codex on three separate occasions to negate the effects of fatigue and lack of concentration on the introduction of new erroneous readings. The variant readings found in previous editions would be too numerous to mention and would only fill the critical apparatus with information of little use or value to the scholar. Thus, we have chosen only to mention where previous editors have doubled the *r* when it appears as single in the MS, since these examples occur but seldom. Previous editors appear to have been swayed by modern spellings and may have written *r* where *rr* was called for, due to lack of attention or force of habit.

f) Words have been accented according to modern usage. Also, written accents have been used to differentiate, according to received standards, between archaic homographs such as "so" (preposition) and "só" ("soy"); "do" (adverb) and "dó" ("doy").

g) With regards to word separation, again we have observed modern usage. This detracts in no way from the presentation of the text, nor does it entail a loss of medieval flavour. The fact that word separation at times does not follow modern usage can be ascribed to the medieval scribe's concept of "word" and the cramped nature of writing as it is found in ancient manuscripts.[1]

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[1] There are, at most, only twenty words in this edition that begin with the single letter *r*.

For example, adverbs which in the codex show the ending *-mente* separated from the feminine form of the adjective, are rendered in their modern form. The same goes for conjugated verbs which are followed by object pronouns: these are attached to the verb, and a written accent is placed over the appropriate vowel of the verb when necessary. In the case of contractions, they have been separated by the use of an apostrophe. Words which appear as *desto*, *daquesta*, or *dorique* in the manuscript are transcribed in our edition as *d'esto*, *d'aquesta*, and *d'Orique*. We have attempted to observe these self-imposed guidelines with meticulous regularity and believe that they aid in simplifying the reading of the text, while at the same time preserving those aspects of the text which reflect its fifteenth-century origins.

h) Abbreviations appearing in the text are rendered in full in this edition, with the omitted letters of the abbreviation underscored. Also included in this edition is a discussion of the types of abbreviations found in the text as well as a list of the abbreviations encountered during our reading of the facsimile. The aim of that section is to show the reader how those were resolved and to give the student unfamiliar with medieval abbreviations a taste of the problems facing the scholar when interpreting ancient manuscripts.

i) All emendations to the text are corrections to errors attributable to a scribe's oversight. These are indicated in pointed brackets, e.g., <e>. There are instances in the manuscript when a copyist left out the tilde over the "u" in "segut" or "segud". These words have been transcribed "segunt" or "segund" respectively with no emendation signs. Foulet and Speer indicate this as being acceptable practice (p. 78). Still, when such an omission occurs on any other word, it has been treated as a scribal error and is emended accordingly, with the proper indication.

B. Treatment of the Versified Debates

One major problem confronting someone when preparing this kind of edition is the question of how the versified debates should be treated. Colbert I. Nepaulsingh, in his edition of Francisco Imperial, includes the rivals' poems in an appendix at the end of his edition and not side-by-side as they appear in the manuscript since "Imperial deseaba que sus poemas fueran estudiados aparte" (p. cxvi)[1]. Such an approach does not seem practical for two main reasons. Firstly, the reader is constantly flipping back and forth between two sections of the edition; secondly, separating these poems is a denial of their very nature, a point touched upon in our master's thesis (p. 46-47). As we indicated in that study, it is important to keep in mind that this type of debate poetry, which we called "poetry of entertainment", is "contextualized". In other words, once a debate has begun, no single poem can be considered as an independent unit outside the context of the debate without suffering a loss of meaning. This, of course, does not apply to the initial poem setting the rhyme and metre and determining the question to be discussed. All other poems in the series, however, take their cue from that initial poem or from the poem preceding it in the series.

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[1] We refer the reader to Chaytor's concept of auditory memory and the fact that a manuscript was "often crabbed in script and full of contractions" (14).

For that reason, these debates should be viewed as works of "joint authorship" that result in a unified whole verging on improvised theatre of a most rudimentary sort.[2] Thus, we have included all poems of a versified debate in the sequence in which they appear in the manuscript and have given them the same treatment as poems actually composed by Baena.

C. Basic Formatting Standards in this Edition

The magnitude of the task undertaken in preparing this edition only became apparent when data was ready to be input into the computer. Consequently, we have had to deal with the limitations, few as they may be, of the WordPerfect 5.1 word-processing package. For that reason, we have two separate sets of footnotes and, although it would have been preferable to place these one below the other, the footnote option in the software did not allow this and manual formatting would have been far too complex and time-consuming. For that reason we made use of the numerical footnotes for the variant readings in the poems and lexicographical commentary was placed at the end of the dissertation with an asterisk (*) beside all commented words in the poetic text itself.

As our point of reference for these poems, we have retained Azáceta's numeration and show this in curly brackets immediately before the rubric. In referring to these poems in the Introduction and in any footnotes, we have used the abbreviation "CB" for "Cancionero de Baena" followed by the number assigned to the composition by Azáceta, since the 1966 edition is the modern standard from which all lines of poetry are quoted. When quoting lines of poetry contained in the present edition in our preliminary chapters or in any notes, we use our transcription of the poems.

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[1] Nepaulsingh does not indicate where he got this information.

[2] Potvin, in Illusion et pouvoir, provides an interesting study of the carnavalesque elements of this poetry and notes its association with the courtly banquet or fête, a principal purpose of which was sensory stimulation, with its elements of ceremony, entertainment, and food. The poetic debate was entertaining and theatrical on many fronts: it consisted of a show of talent, innovation, improvisation, and performance. For more on this aspect of debate poetry, consult her chapter entitled "Le carnaval des poètes: les débats poétiques du Cancionero" (pp. 133-64).

When quoting variant readings, the following abbreviations are used to signify where the variant is found: Pid (the Pidal-Ochoa edition of 1851), Mich (the Michel edition of 1860), Anac (the 1949 edition published by Editorial Anaconda), and Az (Azáceta's 1966 edition). Only readings that are at variance with ours are quoted. If only one edition presents a transcription different from ours, then only it is quoted. The reader may thus assume that editions not quoted as variants present the same reading as that found in the current edition. For example, if Pid is the only edition quoted, then our reading matches Mich and Az. If Pid and Az are cited, then the Mich transcription is identical to ours, etc.

Any changes that have been made to punctuation are only noted when they give rise to a new interpretation or when it has been changed so significantly that a new reading of the poem is called for. Granted there are difficult lines in the poems known as "disparates trobados", and the punctuation often serves in these to try and give some sense to something that may purposefully be devoid of any meaning except for the sheer joy of word-play.

In the "Lexicological Notes" which follow the poetic text, any definition that is not followed by a bibliographical reference is taken from the Diccionario enciclopédico Espasa 1 (3ª ed.; Madrid: Espasa-Calpe: 1986). Any other bibliographical sources are duly cited. When referring to specific lines of poetry in these notes we have taken care to note the line number, which is separated from the poem number by a "v" for "verso", e.g.,"CB 352v42" would mean "composition no. 352, line 42". Although this thesis has been written in English, we have prepared the lexicological notes in Spanish because they are designed as a linguistic tool for people already comfortable enough with the language that they are able to read medieval Spanish. As well, most of the cited works are written in Spanish. In short, it seemed the most logical procedure.

These notes contain common nouns, verbs, verb forms, adjectives, parts of speech and phrases that might cause difficulty to the reader because of their obsolescence, archaic quality, or figurative meaning. It was assumed that the reader of these poems would be familiar with late medieval Spanish forms to begin with; however, the orthography often proves perplexing or confusing, or word meanings may have evolved since the fifteenth century. As well, other words are clearly nonsensical or corruptions of existing words and we have tried to point these out. Glossaries contained in previous editions have proven inadequate or erroneous on many fronts and many difficult words that we have included were often absent.

We have avoided commenting on proper nouns and place-names for three reasons: 1) the amount of research involved; 2) the time it would take; and 3) the substantial additional volume it would add to this dissertation.

The bibliography presents all the works that deal with Juan Alfonso de Baena's poetry. It has been divided into three sections as an aid to the reader and for the sake of academic honesty, since not all the identified works have been quoted in this dissertation. The three sections are: a) Primary Sources; b) Other Works Cited; and c) Non-cited works Pertaining to Baena and his Poetry.

VI. Abbreviations Found in the Manuscript

As is the custom of medieval manuscripts, the actual words are often abbreviated using the standard system of abbreviation signs and symbols which originated in the writing of Latin and were later adapted to the nascent Romance languages. We see three main types of abbreviation in the Cancionero de Baena manuscript:

1) superscript markings and Tironian signs;
2) superscript letters; and
3) a combination of superscript markings and the omission of several letters, often in a common, easily recognizable word.

The most common superscript marking is the horizontal tittle which sometimes resembles a macron and sometimes the more undulating tilde. It most usually indicates the omission of the vowel "e" or the apico-dental nasal "n" and is most often placed over the letter that precedes the omitted letter.

Other superscript markings common to the codex are "d̃" which means "de", and "ꝯ" which is transliterated as "con". The superscript reverse tilde "∽", signifying "ur", and the sign indicating the doubling of an "r", namely "ʀ", are also seen with some frequency.

Still other superscript tittles tend to accompany specific consonants, especially "p", "q", and "v" on a regular basis. In the case of "p" and "v", the symbols that are seen with them tend to indicate the omission of an "r" preceded or followed by a vowel specific to the symbol used. Superscript letters most commonly seen are "^{s}" and "^{o}" which represent the normal-sized "s" and "o" but are used to conserve space on the valuable paper.

Combinations of abbreviation markings in concert with the omission of several letters of a word occur in such words as "dicho", "tienpo", "hermano", "vanagloria", "Martín", "Garçía", "graçias", and "christianos".

The table on the following page is presented to help the reader of the manuscript decipher some of the more difficult readings that are found in it. It is not a compendium of all the abbreviations found in the Cancionero de Baena, but rather of those found in the poems of Juan Alfonso de Baena and his poetic rivals with whom he engaged in debate.

TABLE OF MANUSCRIPT ABBREVIATIONS

Superscript and Tironian Symbols:

~	e, ue, n	$\overline{\chi\rho}$, χ̓	christ(i)-
⁓	a, ra, ua	χρ	chr-

ʃ	er, r, ri, s	ꝯ	con
ᶜ	re	ʀ	rr
ɷ	ur	ꞇ	e

Common words and word fragments:

Aº, aº	Alfonso	ǵto	grito
alfōn	Alfonso	hmº	hermano
alfōz	Alfonz	indl̄gēçia	indulgençia
bç̂o	braço	jnº	Juan
b̄na	buena	mº	maestro
câ	carta	mañl	Manuel
cͨ	cre	mn̂ul	Manuel
ċ	cri	m̄jn	Martín
com̄o	commo	negº	negro
ꝺ	de	nro	nuestro
diegº	Diego	ob̄pos	obispos
dh̄o	dicho	om̄e	omme
eʃćptura	escriptura	otºs	otros
figᷣa	figura	p̄mo	primero
fr̂rt	Ferrant	ꝑ	par, per
g͠a	Garçía	ṕ	pre, pri
g͠ia	Garçía	ꝓ	pro
geom̄t́a	geometría	ꝓeza	proeza
gr̄ras	graçias	ṕgūta	pregunta
gr̂t	grant	píʃtolina	Pristolina

qͣ	qua
q̄	que
qͥ	qui
rreqͥrimiº	rrequirimiento
ſ͛	ser
ſob́ujos	sobervios
tͧena	truena
tpō	tienpo
tr̄r̄a	tierra
ꝟ	ver
v͛	vir
vanagl̄īa	vanagloria
vr̄o	vuestro
vr̄r̄o	vuestro
χ̄ρ̄iano	christiano
χρitalyna	christalyna
χ͛anos	christianos

THE
POETIC
TEXTS

(...Fol. 16v)

{CB 37} Este dezir fizo Johan Alfonso de Baena, conponedor d'este libro, al finamiento del dicho señor rrey don Enrryque en Toledo; el qual dezir es muy dolorido, bien quebrantado e plañido* segunt lo rrequería el acto del[1] negocio*. E otrosy va por arte común doblada e los consona<n>tes[2] van muy bien guardados.

El sol innoçente[3] con mucho quebranto
dexó a la luna con sus dos estrellas,
a muchos señores e due<ñ>as[4] e donzellas
por ser fallesçido los puso en espanto;
por ende, señores, faziendo grant llanto,
en altos clamores le demos querellas
a Dios e a la Virgen lança<n>do[5] çentellas[6]
con grandes gemidos fagamos[7] su planto.

La rreyna muy alta planiendo sus ojos
de lágrimas cubra su noble rregaço,
las otras donzellas se fagan rretaço*
los rrostros e manos e tomen enojos;
(Fol. 17r)
las sus vías sean por sendas d'abrojos*,
vestidas con luto de rroto pedaço,
las dueñas ançianas[8] la tomen de braço
e lloren con ella de preçes* e innojos.

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[1] Mich: "de lo".

[2] Pid: "consonates"; Anac, Az: "consonantes", with no indication of emendation.

[3] Mich: "innocente".

[4] MS reads "señores e duenas"; Pid, Az: "señores, dueñas"; Mich: "señores é dueñas", with no indication of emendation.

[5] Pid, Az: "lançando".

[6] Mich: "centellas".

[7] Az: "fagados".

[8] Mich: ancianas

Con boz perentoria* el jentil[1] infante[2]
alçe su gryto en son rrazonable;
con boz açessoria[3] el grant condestable
con lloro perfeto sse muestre pensante.
En pos de los dichos el noble almirante
luego rresponda con boz espantable,
e Diego López con boz onorable,
e Juan de Velasco diziendo adelante.

Los nobles maestres en el Andaluzía[4]
fagan su llanto muy fuerte, sobejo*,
e digan: "Amigos, sabet qu'el espejo
de toda Castilla que bien rreluzía,
atantas[5] mercedes[6] a todos fazía,
vos es fallesçido." E tomen consejo
junta<n>do[7] comunes de cada conçejo[8]
e llore con ellos la grande[9] clerezía.

Los otros señores asaz de Castilla
llorando muy fuerte se llamen cuytados*:
vasallos, fidalgos, obispos, letrados
doctores, alcaldes[10] con pura manzilla,

---

[1] *Pid*, *Az*: gentil

[2] *Pid*: Ynfante

[3] *Mich*: acessoria

[4] *Pid*: en l'Andalusía; *Mich*: en la Andalusia; *Az*: en l'Andalusia. MS clearly reads "enel andaluzja" which we have transcribed as "en el Andaluzía". Previous editors have probably taken the tilde over the "n" in "eñl" to be redundant, not taking into account that a tilde can also signify the omission of an "e". Although this reading brings the syllable count to thirteen, it does not necessarily imply a faulty reading. "En el" are two unstressed words followed by the syllable *An*-, on which the secondary accent of the final word falls, giving the line the four standard feet of the *arte mayor*. Furthermore, "el Andaluzía" was probably more common than "la Andaluzía", since the masculine-singular definite article, *el*, was used before words beginning with *a*, whether that initial *a* was stressed or unstressed, and regardless of the number of syllables in the word (Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. hist.*, §100.2).

[5] *Pid*, *Mich*: "e tantas".

[6] *Pid*, *Az*: "merçedes".

[7] *Pid*, *Az*: "juntando", with no indication of emendation.

[8] *Mich*: "concejo".

[9] *Pid*: "grand".

[10] *Anac*: "alcades".

aq*ue*stos con otros llama*n*do mesylla[1]*.
E guaye*n** donzeles sus lindos criado*s*,
pues q*ue*dan amargos de lloro bastados:
con mucha tristura yrá esta q*ua*drylla.

Ffagan gra*n*t llanto los sus co*n*tador*e*s:
con ellos consistan los sus thesorero*s*,
porteros e g*ua*rdas e sus despenseros*;
con éstos rreclame*n* sus rrecabdador*e*s*,
maestres de sala y aposentadores[2]*;
e otrosy lloren los sus camareros,
tanbién esso messmo los sus rreposteros*s*
d'estrados* e plata e sus tañedores*.

En fyn de rrazones, con poco co*n*suelo,
todos los dichos fará*n* su devissa*
de xergas* e sogas, tanbié*n* de ot*ra* syssa*:
cabellos e barvas lançar po*r* el suelo
alçando clamores cobiertos de duelo:
por ser mal logrado segu*n*t la pesq*ui*sa[3]*
el rrey virtuoso de muy alt*a* guissa[4]
los lloros e llantos traspase*n* el çielo.

Agora, señores, del rrey q*ue* de vysso[5]
fue maravilloso el su finamento[6],
pues fue en el día de su nasçimie*n*to[7]
del Fijo de Dios q*ue* está en paraysso;
al qual rrescibió con plazer e rryso[8],
con gesto amoroso, segu*n*t q*ue* yo sye*n*to,

---

[1] *Pid*: "llamando me sylla"; *Az*: "llamandome sylla".

[2] *Pid*, *Az*: "sala, aposentadores". *Mich*: "sala y aposentadores". *Az* notes that "Hay en el ms. una palabra ilegible, por estar tachada, entre *sala* y *aposentadores*" (I, 89n.). In fact, the only illegible part is a letter that has been struck out between "ya-" and "-posentadores".

[3] This line appears twice in the MS but, as Azáceta notes, the first version of it is struck out (I, 89n.).

[4] *Pid*: "guisa".

[5] *Mich*: "devysso".

[6] *Pid*: "finamiento".

[7] *Pid*: "nascimiento".

[8] *Mich*: "rrysso".

de todo él ovo buen meresçimiento:
Dios le dé glorya pues que assy lo quiso.

Fynida[1]

(...Fol. 29r)

{CB 80} Este dezir fizo Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino, el qual es muy bien fecho e bien fundado por arte de maestrya mayor por rresquesta[2] e pregunta contra los trobadores.

(Fol. 29v)

A mí bien me plaze por que se estienda
la gaya çiençia en bocas de tales
que sean donossos fydalgos ...[3]
e troben limado* syn pavor de emienda;[4]
mas pues que los torpes ya sueltan la rryenda
quemen sus libros doquiera que son:
Virgilio e Dante, Oraçio[5] e Platón,
e otros poetas que diz la leyenda.

---

[1] Although the MS indicates that a *finida* is called for here, the copyist never supplied it. Taking into consideration the poetic conventions of the time and the fact that Baena almost always concluded his poems with a *finida*, the latter was probably lost or simply and inadvertently not copied into the codex. *Pid* noting the absence of the customary ending, suggests the unlikelihood that *Fynida* was written in place of the possibly more appropriate *Fyn* (42n.). Lang, in his foreword to the facsimile edition (8), and Azáceta (I, 89n.) simply note its absence without offering any discussion. *Mich*, faithful to the MS, includes the word *Fynida*, but does not note its absence.

[2] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "rrequesta".

[3] This line ends in a blank space in the MS. There is a trisyllabic word missing which would have ended in *-ales*.

[4] The MS reads "que sean donossos fydalgos e troben / limado syn pavor de emienda", the first line being dodecasyllabic and the second nonasyllabic. *Pid* and *Az* both noticed that the line in the MS ending in "e troben" was irregular, probably because enjambment is very rare in 15th-century court poetry. Upon further examination, they realized that the rhyme-scheme did not correspond to that of the rest of the poem and emended it more appropriately "que sean donossos fydalgos... / e troben limado syn pavor de emienda". Azáceta observed that "El verso queda incompleto en el ms. pues las palabras finales del mismo *e troben* son las primeras del verso siguiente" (I, 170n.). The first line in its original version possibly could have been "que sean donossos fydalgos [leales]".

[5] MS reads "oraçiõn". Like *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az* we have emended the word to "Oraçio".

Aquí todo bueno su sesso despienda*
e júntense algunos de los naturales:
legos e artistas e rretorycales
que han e ovieron onrrossa bivienda;
apaguen tal fuego por que non se ençienda
mandando que calle<n>[1] aquellos que non
rresçiben por graçia divina este don
de la poetría: todo omme[2] lo entie<n>da[3].

E por que se esclaresca más esta fazienda
pongamos exenplo en los menestales[4]*:
non deven bevir en onrras yguales
el muy lindo xastre* con el que rremienda,
que el uno meresçe tener rryca tienda,
el otro vil cho<ç>a[5] commo[6] rremendón*;
pues a que le fallesçen lo de Salamón,
delante maestros loor non atienda[7].

Quien de los molinos do ay grant molienda
furta farina e fynche costales*,
después la derrama por plazas e ostales*:
éste non deve bevir[8] syn contyenda.
Asy todo sabio escuche e aprehenda
e los ynorantes demanden perdón,
que non es seguro lidiando el varón
sy non tiene armas con que se defienda.

Fynida

Pues quien poco sabe co<n>viene[9] que se rryenda
commo se rrynde la garça al falcón,

---

[1] MS reads "calle". *Pid*, *Az*: "callen", without showing emendation. *Mich* shows emendation as "calle(n)".

[2] *Mich*: "ombre".

[3] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "entienda", without emendation.

[4] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "menestrales".

[5] MS reads "choca". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "choça" without emendation.

[6] *Pid*, *Az*: "como".

[7] *Pid*: "attienda".

[8] *Pid*: "bevyr".

[9] MS reads "coviene". *Pid*: "coviene"; *Az*: "conviene". *Mich* correctly emends to "co(n)viene".

ca en sus proverbios el sabio Catón
diz qu'el bien suba, el mal que desçenda.

{CB 81} A esta pregunta e rrequesta rrespondió Juan Alfonso[1] de Baena, escrivano del rrey, por la mesma arte de maestría e por sus consonantes limados e muy escandidos.

Segund que fyngydes so vuestr<a>[2] encomienda
están las çiençias de todos metales,
mas testos e glosas de mis decretales
segunt me paresçe leystes corryenda;
por ende, maestro, sabet que rrespenda*
de vuestra[3] ordenança el muy grant Rremón,
Rrycardo e Panfylo, Escoto e Agrymón,
los quales mandaron que vos rreprehenda.[4]

Ca puesto por casso[5] que puge e traçenda
la vuestra[6] çiençia de fynos crystales,
e callen los synples rremotos bru<t>ales[7]
que non fueron dinos aver tal prebenda*,
a vuestra[8] persona sotyl, rreverenda,
fermoso[9] le fuera loar con rrazón
los altos poetas que luenga ssazón
trobaron por artes de alta calenda*.

---

[1] Pid: "Alfon".

[2] MS reads "vuestro". Pid: "vestra"; Mich, Az: "vuestra", with no indication of emendation.

[3] Pid: "vestra".

[4] MS reads "rreprehendan". Pid, Mich, Az: "rreprehenda", without indicating their correction.

[5] Pid: "caso".

[6] Pid: "vestra".

[7] MS reads "brucales". Mich: "brutales", without indication of emendation. Pid, Az: "brucales", but both say the word should be emended to "bru<t>ales" (Pid, 654, note LV; Az, I, 172n.). The lower-case "c" and "t" were very similar in 15th-century Gothic script, and the scribe may have misread "c" for "t" in the original that he was transcribing.

[8] Pid: "vestra".

[9] The last letter of fermoso is difficult to read since it is smudged in the MS, but its shape implies that of an o.

E porque non syento quien non condeçenda
a vuestras[1] dotrinas por ser tan morales,
las flores de adelfa con lyndos rrosales
que non se conforman en dar su ofrenda;
por ende syguiendo, señor, vuestra[2] senda
e non lo tomando de vos el baldón,
yo çerca de aquesto so vuestro[3] pendón
seré todo syenpre: tomad esta prenda.

Pero sy vos plaze que d'esto dependa
que tangan las tronpas e los atabales*
e yo suba quintas* en bozes tunbales,
de vuestra[4] madexa* quebrada es la cuenda*,
ca yo non me rryndo commo omme que arryenda;
pero sy vos punço en el coraçón,
faré que vos tome tan grant toroçón*
que d'esta lynda arte vos pryve e suspenda.

Fynida

Pasteles de pollos con polvos de hienda*
e festes* de Noya[5] con buen salpycón
vos tengo quissados en un rreplicón
sobre que bevades, señor, en merienda.

(...Fol. 50v)
{CB 160} Este dezir fizo e ordenó el dicho Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino a don Sancho de Rrojas después que fue arçobispo de Toledo, quexándose d'él porque le non fazía merçet.

(Fol. 51r)
<M>uy[6] eçelente perlado,
grant señor, fidalgo[7] ledo
arçobispo de Toledo,
de las Españas primado,

---

[1] *Pid*: "vestras".

[2] *Pid*: "vestra".

[3] *Pid*: "vestro".

[4] *Pid*: "vestra".

[5] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "noya".

[6] MS reads "uy". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "Muy", with no indication of emendation.

[7] *Mich*: "fydalgo".

chançeller mayor dotado
en los rreynos de Castilla:
yo morando en vuestra[1] villa
¿cómmo quedo assy olvidado,
desechado?

Çierto es e averiguado
que me vos rrecomendé
en Ayllón do vos fallé
de negoçios ocupado;
desque fustes triunfado
en la silla poderossa,
yo vos escreví por prossa
cuydando ser escuchado
e consolado.

Mas por mi negro pecado
vos nunca me rrespondistes,
e tal pavor me posistes
que nunca pierdo cuydado
creyendo ser malsynado
de algunos[2] a ssynrrazón[3]*:
sy es ello assy o non,
véolo bien declarado
mal mi grado.

Pues me veo engañado
por non padesçer a tuerto.
Vendo todo a fumo[4] muerto
quanto ove heredado
en Yllescas[5] e aun conprado
por foyr de vos muy lexos
do[6] non ay rrobres nin texos,
nin fallesçe gasajado*
rrefrescado.

E sy mi ventura e fado
les plaze que assí ssea,
quiçá me verán que crea

---

[1] Pid: "vestra".

[2] Mich: "algu(n)os", unnecessarily.

[3] Pid, Mich, Az: "ssyn razon".

[4] Mich: "funio".

[5] Pid: "Illescas".

[6] Mich transcribed the word as "don", which is what the MS reads. Pid, Az: "do", with no indication of the original reading.

preçito o[1] predestinado,
ssyn error ser condenado,
bien servir syn galardón;
pues los cursos tales son,
yo meresco ser llamado
preçitado.

Doss nasçidos en un prado,
Sandoval después Ferrera[2],
farán por mi salva entera
que nunca vos fuy errado,
mariscal e adelantado,
dos cavalleros absentes
sserán sy fueren presentes,
cada uno mi[3] abogado
de buen grado.

Alto árbol bien rraygado
con fructo, flores e fojas,
señor don Sancho de Rrojas,
discreto muy esforçado:
sea yo luego ayudado
por vos que tanto valedes.
Esto non lo detardedes:
synon todo es desatado,
lo pensado.

Fynida[4]

Que sy el rrey fuesse barvado
--d'esto non vos enogedes--
cuydaría aver merçedes
d'él para vevir[5] onrrado
en mi estado.

---

[1] Pid, Mich, Az: "e". The MS presents a stylized upper-case "o" for the conjunction.

[2] Anac: "Ferrara".

[3] Mich: "un".

[4] MS reads "s fynida". Mich: "Ffynida".

[5] Mich: "venir".

{CB 161} Este dezir fizo Juan[1] Alfonso de Baena, escrivano[2] del rrey, por rruego del dicho arçobispo don Sancho de Rrojas en rrespuesta d'este otro dezir, el qual es bien fecho.

Poeta muy esmerado,
pues trobastes tan azedo*
por escripto con denuedo*
en vuestro[3] dezir rrimado;
vos seredes castigado,
pues movistes la rrenzilla
por vuestra[4] arte ssenzilla
de maestro desdonado,
rremendado[5].

(Fol. 51v)
Dize más vuestro[6] tractado,
assy lo dades[7] por ffee,
que pujante nuestra[8] see*
nos[9] ovistes suplicado
e non fustes vissitado
con dinero nin[10] otra cosa:
sy catades[11] bien la glossa
non andades bien fundado,
mas turbado.

---

[1] Az: "Juhan".

[2] Mich: "escriviano".

[3] Pid: "vestro".

[4] Pid: "vestra".

[5] MS reads "rremendando", as found in Mich, but this does not fit with the rhyme-scheme of the poem. Pid, Az: "rremendado", with no indication of emendation.

[6] Pid: "vestro".

[7] MS reads "dadades". Pid, Mich, Az all transcribed "dades" without any indication of emendation.

[8] Pid: "nostra".

[9] Az: "non".

[10] Pid: "ni".

[11] In the MS, the first syllable of catades, "ca-", appears in superscript with a caret beneath it. One can suppose that the copyist, or his proofreader, inserted the syllable after the poem had been transcribed.

A lo ál* por vos narrado[1],
del rreçelo que escrevistes,
sy de miedo presumistes
non devemos[2] ser culpado;
ca non lieva[3] nuestro[4] estado
nin será nuestra[5] entençió<n>[6]
de fazer mal nin mal don
a ningunt omme criado
del rreynado.

E sy fyncades burlado,
esto fue por vos ser yerto*
e nunca passar el puerto
a buscar lo desseado;
por ende ssed contentado
e ya çessen[7] vuestros[8] quexos
ca vuestros[9] dichos anexos*
non valen sólo un cornado*
foradado*.

E pues non estáys armado:
¿para que buscáys pelea
con quien vos terná* la tea*
e vos dexará cansado?[10]
Ca fablastes muy osado
en el lago de perdiçión
de la grant prestinaçión,

---

[1] Mich: "rarrado".

[2] Pid: "debemos".

[3] Mich: "liena".

[4] Pid: "nostro".

[5] Pid: "nostra".

[6] MS reads "entençio". Pid, Mich, Az: "entençion", without showing emendation.

[7] Pid, Mich: "cessen".

[8] Pid: "vestros".

[9] Pid: "vestros".

[10] Like Pid and Az, we consider these three lines a question on the part of the poet. A strong indication of this is "para que" which is not followed by a subjunctive. Most often, the conjunction "por que", in the sense of "so that", is used in 15th-century Castilian. Mich, on the other hand, seems to consider this a statement, since there are no question marks in his edition.

non seyendo graduado
nin letrado.

Mucho andades alongado
de seguir esta carrera,
pues que ya vuestra[1] vandera
el çendal* trae rrasgado;
ca diçen qu'el trastravado[2]*
vos priva los açidentes,
que ya todas las gentes
lo tienen por liçençiado[3]
muy delgado.

Ffynalmente, bien notado
lo pedido en vuestras[4] fojas,
de dineros o coscojas
vos seredes bien librado;
pero sed bien avyssado
que sy[5] vos non rrespondedes,
que vos armarán las rredes
e seredes emplazado
e çitado.

Fynida

El muy alto rrey loado
quier ver lo que faredes
e aún espera sy ssabredes
rreplicar a lo trobado
muy limado*.

(...Fol. 55r)
{CB 179} Este dezir fizo e ordenó el dicho Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino para el dicho señor condestable don Alvaro de Luna quando el rrey nuestro[6] señor estava en Arévalo e tenía ende ayuntamiento de gentes año

---

[1] Pid: "vestra".

[2] Mich: "trastavado".

[3] Mich: "licençiado".

[4] Pid: "vestras".

[5] Pid: "si".

[6] Pid: "nostro".

de <mill e> quat*ro*çientos e veynte e uno[1], rrelatándole com*m*o ya sse yva e derramava la otra gente del espinar[2]*.

(Fol. 55v)

Alvaro, señor loçano,
de loçana loçanía,
fidalgo de fydalguía,
co*n* q*ue* todo cuerpo hum*a*no
devrié ser contento, ufano*,
ledo e quito* de tristura:
aved plazer e folgura
non p*er*diendo t*ien*po e*n* vano,
pu*e*s que ya se va el verano.

Pu*e*s que ya se va el verano,
atienda q*ui*en atendía
plazer co*n* plazentería,
aviendo consejo sano
luego luego* de tenprano,
pensando con gr*a*nt cordura
en cóm*m*o e de quál fig*ur*a[3]
sea el g*ra*nt rrey castellano
gozoso de llano e*n* llano.

Gozoso[4] de llano e*n* llano,
sea por vos quie*n* serya
servidor e sserviría
con la paja e co*n* *e*l grano
no*n* a guisa de aldeano,
mas con lealtança pura:
yo vos fago pl*e*ito e jur*a*,
que donde me vie*n* a mano[5],
en vos loar sienpre afano*.

---

[1] MS reads "año de quat*ro*çientos e veynte e uno", which is how *Pid* and *Az* transcribe it. *Mich* emends the line to "año de (mil) quatroçientos e veynte e uno". I have opted to transcribe it according to the most common 15th-century spelling and usage, that being "<mill e> quat*ro*çientos e veynte e uno". Such usage can be verified in the *cuadernos de las cortes* and in *CB* 437 line 8, "dame en ayuda diez *mill* carajudos".

[2] *Mich*: "Espinar".

[3] *Mich*: "fig(ur)a", unnecessarily.

[4] As an example of how *Anac* can differ from *Pid* (of which it is a reprint), *Pid* transcribes this word "Gososo", while *Anac* transcribes it "Gozoso".

[5] *Mich*: "aviano" for "a mano".

Finida

Magüera só viejo ançiano,
non olvido la mesura,
mas codiçio ver segura
la corte del soberano[1],
lindo rrey, fyel christiano.

{CB 180} Este dezir fizo e ordenó Juan Alfonso de Baena, escrivano del rrey, commo en manera de rrespuesta que le dava al dicho Alfonso Alvarez, commo en manera de rrespuesta a este otro su dezir e so entençión e a fyn de travar* con él rrequesta; el qual dezir va rrespondiendo por los mesmos consonantes limados e escandidos*.

Grant poeta, viejo cano,
muy fundado en poetría,
la vuestra[2] grant maestría
rrosca* es de pan mediano*
por quanto vuestro[3] omilano
bola* poco e con presura,
e non sube en el altura
donde sube don Fulano,
el muy sotil escrivano.

El muy sotil escrivano
que trabaja noche e día
con su linda escrivanía
en papel lisso, toscano*,
por pitarvos[4] el tolano*
en la su rryca escritura,
de letra tajante e pura,
bien escripta con su mano
non por çierto[5] de villano.

Por ende pues onrra gano
con rryqueza e mejoría
por loar tan gran valía
del graçiosso e palençiano*

---

[1] *Mich*: "soverano".

[2] *Pid*: "vestra".

[3] *Pid*: "vestro".

[4] *Mich*: "pi(n)tar vos".

[5] *Miq*: "cierto".

que del rrey está çerca<n>o[1],
floresçiendo su ventura;
pues de mi tomó tal cura,
él verá lo que desplano*
magüera que soy enano.

Ffynida[2]

Por lo qual, señor[3] hermano,
pues çessa la fermosura
de vuestra[4] arte e conpostura:
non curedes del mançano
del que yo ssó ortelano.

(...Fol. 87r)
{CB 260} Pregunta de Ferrant Manuel contra Juan Alfonso

En coplas lle<n>as[5] de asogue*,
gentil sseñor Johan Alfonsso,
fazedes alto rressponso
e tañedes vu<e>stro[6] albogue*;
mas guardat que non sse afogue
la[7] vuestra çiençia profunda
que faze grant barafunda*,
pero en esta arte ffecunda
sy más fonda non se funda,
çiará* por bien que bogue.

Çiará de banco en banco,
syguiendo syenpre el estremo,
e con la fuerça del rremo
tornará pryeto* lo blanco;

---

[1] MS reads "çercado", which is what Mich gives. Pid, Az: "çercado", without emendation, the latter noting the original reading (II, 330n.).

[2] Pid, Az: "Fynida".

[3] Mich: "senor".

[4] Pid: "vestra".

[5] MS reads "lleñas". Although it appears to be a case of a redundant tilde, both Pid and Mich transcribed the word as "llennas".

[6] MS reads "vustro". We agree with Mich who emends the word as "vu(e)stro". Pid and Az both transcribe "vuestro" with no indication of emendation.

[7] This word, la, appears in the left margin beside the line in a hand different from that of the rest of the poem. It was probably added during the proofreading of the copy.

pues mirad commo[1] yo atranco*
la rrazón punto por punto
con materya e forma junto,
magüer paresco defunto,
que quando non canta el punto
el ssano se ffalla manco.

El sano[2] que de ffortuna
non es bien ffavoryzado,
magüer sea muy letrado,
toda su obra es ninguna;
que ssyn gracia[3] ssola una
non ay planeta que obre
nin árbol, pyno nin rrobre,
que foja nin fructo cobre:
la plata se torna cobre
--creedlo ssyn dubda alguna--.

Creedlo, trobador ffyno,
ssegunt la lección espuesta[4],
e ssy me dades rrespuesta
mucho buen día vos vyno;
qu'el león del alto sygno
e ssu lyndo condestable,
graçioso señor notable,
con plazer muy amigable
querrá<n>[5] ver en luz palpable
ssy va bien guardado el tyno.

Fynida

Sy va bien, au<c>tor[6] onrrable,
la vuestra lengua me fable,

---

[1] *Az*: "como".

[2] *Pid*: "ssano".

[3] We have followed the MS reading. *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "graçia", without showing emendation.

[4] *Mich*: "es puesta".

[5] MS reads "querrar". *Pid*, *Az*: "querrá". *Mich*: "querrán", without indicating emendation.

[6] MS reads "auttor", which is how *Pid*, *Mich*, and *Az* render it. The above emendation is justified because the double *t*, "-tt-", does not exist elsewhere in the MS and has never been accepted in Castilian Spanish. The letters *c* and *t* were often confused in the court Gothic script of the time, and it appears that the scribe probably misread "auctor" for "auttor" in the original he was transcribing. See footnote to *CB* 81, line 11.

ca en este golffo espantable
muchas vezes fue<l>la[1] el sable*
quien non es abto nin dygno.

(Fol. 87v)

{CB 261} Rrespuesta de Juan[2] Alfonso contra Ferrán[3] Manuel

Señor pocas noches yogue*
en estudio commo[4] tonsso
por vuestro dezir asconso*
del qual su traslado trogue*;
por[5] ende non se derrogue*
mi saber que non rreunda[6]*,
ca sy mi lengua circunda[7]*
dessatando la coyunda*,
sy rreplyco otra segunda,
juro a Dios que vos ensogue.

Juro a Dios, fydalgo franco,
sy con saña me desflemo*
o del todo me apostemo*,
que vos pique bien el çanco*
o vos arme tal escanco*
que rresuene el contrapunto;
ca, señor, ssegunt barrunto*,
sy la mi daga despunto
rreniego sy non vos unto[8]
o[9] vos lançe en un barranco*.

---

[1] MS is somewhat confusing here, but it seems to read "fuebla", possibly as a result of a *saut du même au même* from line 42, "fable". It appears that the scribe might have realized his error and made a veiled attempt at correcting it. *Mich* gave the MS reading--"fuebla"--in his edition. *Pid* and *Az* transcribe "fuella" without indicating their emendation.

[2] *Mich*: "Johan".

[3] MS reads "ferran". *Pid*, *Az*: "Ferrant". *Mich*: "Ferra(n)t".

[4] *Az*: "como".

[5] *Mich*: "dor".

[6] *Pid*, *Az*: "sse unda".

[7] Like *Pid* and *Mich* we have retained the MS reading of "circunda". *Az*: "çircunda", without emendation.

[8] *Mich*: "junto".

[9] *Pid*, *Az*: "e".

O vos lançe en tal laguna
do penedes ayslado
ssy vos non tien anparado
el muy grant señor de Luna;
ca vuestra arte borruna*,
de madera flaca, pobre,
desdonada, muy salobre,
non es arte de mazobre[1]*,
nin tan fonda por que sobre
de todos vuestra coluna*.

De todos Villasandino
fue señor de la floresta,
commo quier[2] que por rrequesta
yo le di para tozino
delante el Señor benino,
alto rrey muy rredutable,
otrosy del su amable,
leal conde venerable,
pues a vos es rrazonable
que vos golpe en el barquino*.

Fynida

Que vos golpe en semejable
syn el arte ser mudable,
ca vuestra tema incurable
non puede ser rreparable,
o yo ssó mal adevyno.

(...Fol. 88r)

{CB 264} Esta pregunta fizo e ordenó el dicho Ferrant Manuel.

Amigo señor, que Dios vuestra vida
alargue con abtos de grant gentileza,
e crezca en virtudes de mucha proeza[3]
la vuestra[4] notable persona escogida:

---

[1] Pid: "masobre"; Mich: "mas obre"; Az: "mansobre".

[2] Az: "comoquier".

[3] Mich: "pereza".

[4] Pid: "vestra".

dadme rrespuesta e<n> fo<r>ma[1] devida,
por lyndas palabras de alta mesura[2],
sy vistes aquí passar por ventura
la mona syn maza* que anda perdida.

Fynida

Ca oy me dixeron que fue muy corrida
en un monte esquivo de grant espesura,
e cúnpleme mucho en toda fygura
saber el lugar do bive escondida.

(Fol. 88v)
{CB 265} Esta rrespuesta fizo e ordenó el dicho Juan Alfonso de Baena contra Ferrant Manuel.

Lindo fydalgo, ley la seguida*
que vos enbiastes de grant sotyleza[3],
e yo trabajé segunt mi synpleza[4]
en darvos rrespuesta que fuese polida:
amigo, sabet que en esta partida
la m<o>n<a>[5] nonbrada en vuestra letura
acá non passó, mas fágovos jura
que mucho trabajé por ver su guarida*.

Fynida

Por ende vos rruego en esta finida
que vos me digades quál es su figura,
e sy ay canes de grant ladradura,
e luego vos digo do tangan d'oçida.[6]*

---

[1] MS reads "e foma". *Pid*, *Az*: "en forma", without showing emendations; *Mich* shows emendations in round brackets, "e(n) fo(r)ma".

[2] *Pid*, *Az*: "mensura".

[3] *Pid*: "sotileza".

[4] *Pid*: "sympleza".

[5] MS reads "mano". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "mona", without showing emendation.

[6] *Mich*: "doçida"; *Az*:"docida". *Pid*: "d'ocida".

{CB 266} Esta pregunta fizo e ordenó contra el dicho.[1]

Gentil, deleytoso fidalgo cortés,
ardid, esforçado de alta proeza,
dezidme, señor, por vuestra nobleza,
que plazer veades de quien bien querés:
de quál figura o en qué guissa es
una donzella amar tres personas,
syn ellas pedirla[2] nin darle sus donas,
ofreçe[3] su cuerpo ella a todos tres.

Fynida

E dize por ende que non faze mal
e sirve a cada uno e esle leal:
dezit cómmo[4] sea, señor, que gozés.

{CB 267} Esta rrespuesta fizo e ordenó el dicho Ferrant Manuel contra la pregunta del dicho.

Por muchos loores, señor, que me des,
non cobro tryunfo nin mayor alteza;
antes te rruego por grant gentileza
que tornes lo dicho del todo al rrevés
e luego, amigo, verás bien aprés*
la santa donzella que tú me rrazon<a>s[5],
que es coronada de lyndas coronas
e rreyna del çielo, segunt que tú ves.

Fynida

Las tres personas en un grado egual
es una sustançia e Dios divinal,
el qual por nosotros enclavó sus pies.

---

[1] Though there is no authorship attributed to this poem, we can safely assume that it is addressed by Juan Alfonso de Baena to Ferrán Manuel de Lando, as Lang suggests in his Foreword to the facsimile edition (p. 13).

[2] MS reads "perdirla", which is how *Pid* transcribes it. However, *Pid* notes that "En el 7º verso, en lugar de *perdirla*, léase *pedirla*" (p. 673, n. CLIX). *Mich*, *Az*: "pedirla", the latter noting the original reading (II, 543n.).

[3] *Pid*: "ofresçe".

[4] *Az*: "como".

[5] MS reads "rrazones". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "rrazonas", with no indication of emendation.

(Fol. 133r)

Johan Alffonso[1] de Baena: Rrequestas[2]

Aquí se comiençan las canticas[3] e dezires e preguntas e rrequestas que fizo e ordenó en su tienpo[4] Johan Alfonso de Baena, escrivano del rrey, actor, conponedor[5] e copilador d'este pressente libro; los quales dezires e rrequestas e otras cossas aquí puestas que por el dicho Johan Alfonso fueron fechas e ordenadas, non es rrazonable nin conveniente cosa de las el alabar nin loar sy son bien fechas e ordenadas e sotilmente limadas e escandidas. Pero rremítelo a la nobleza e discreçión e mesura de los leedores.

{CB 357} Petiçión que fizo e ordenó el dicho Juan Alfonso de Baena para el rrey nuestro[6] señor.

Señor alto, rrey de España,
por vos dar plazer e vicio[7]
e fazervos grant serviçio,
yo tomé carga[8] tamaña
de entrar en tal montaña
contra dos tan sabidores
e muy lyndos trobadores,
de Castilla los mejores:
líbreme santa Ssusaña[9]
d'estos dos e su conpaña*.

---

[1] *Pid*, *Az*: "Alfonso".

[2] *Az* comments on the appearance of these five words in the codex: "Destaca de modo especial la rúbrica general a las obras de Juan Alfonso de Baena, con las primeras cinco palabras en letras de gran tamaño y todo ocupando el folio de lado a lado" (III, 810n.).

[3] *Pid*: "cantigas".

[4] *Pid*, *Az*: "tiempo".

[5] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "actor e conponedor".

[6] *Pid*: "nostro".

[7] Like *Mich* we have retained the MS reading of "vicio". *Pid*, *Az*: "viçio", without indicating emendation.

[8] MS reads "cargar" as *Az* notes (III, 810n.). *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az* all corrected the reading to "carga".

[9] *Pid*, *Az*: "Ssusana".

Señor alto, rrey de España,
pues Yllescas[1], viejo cano,
e Manuel el sevillano
amos tienen de mí ssaña
con mi lengua de guadaña;
magüer tengo fea vista
e non só grant coronista,
juro a Dios que yo los vista
del paño de tyrytaña*
e veamos quién rregaña.

Señor alto, rrey de España,
pues tenemos tales juezes
que miren nuestros[2] jahezes*
sy venimos de Alimaña
o de Chipre o de Cucaña:
mande vuestra grant señoría
que pierdan malenconía*
e tomen plazentería
syn enojo e ssyn zizaña*,
ca la burla non rrascaña*.

Fynida

Señor alto, rrey de España,
yo les mando mal otoño,
ca les meteré el demoño:
démelo por testimonio
Fferrand[3] López de Saldaña
que de rrisa bien sse apaña*.

{CB 358} Petiçión que fizo e ordenó el dicho Johan Alfonso para[4] el conde don Fadrique e Alvaro de Luna.

Señores discretos a grant maravilla,
el muy noblesçido conde don Fadrique,
prymo[5] del alto el rrey don Enrrique
que yaze en Toledo en rrica capilla,
e vos, muy leal, syn otra manzilla,

---

[1] Pid, Az: "Illescas".

[2] Pid: "nostros"; Mich: "vuestros".

[3] Mich: "Fferand"; Anac: "Eferrand".

[4] The word "para" is written twice in the MS, the second time in its abbreviated form "para" which we have omitted.

[5] Pid, Az: "primo".

lindo e fidalgo Alvaro de Luna,
fechura e criança syn dubda[1] ninguna
del rrey poderoso de muy alta sylla.

Señores, por quanto en toda Castilla,
desí Portogal, tanbién Inglaterra[2],
en Françia, Navarra, por mar e por tierra,
Granada, Valençia, después en Sezilla
en tanta grant tierra[3] que non ssé dezilla,
está publicada la vuestra nobleza,
esfuerço, grandía, valor e rriqueza:
por ende yo çesso de más rrepetilla.

Señores, concluyo por arte senzilla
yo non faziendo aquí más arenga*,
de vuestras personas que Dios las mante<n>ga[4],
e guarde e acreçiente mayor su quadrilla;
pero con mesura commo[5] quien se omilla,
con grant rreverençia merçet[6] vos demando,
que ssea otorgado en rrico aguilando*
aquesto que pido por esta cartilla.

Señores, sostiene quistión e rrenzilla
el muy sabio grande de Villasandino,
tanbién el fidalgo poeta muy dyno[7],
Fferrand[8] Manuel, gentil de Sevilla,
comigo--Baena--persona chiquilla:
por ende vos nobles, graçiosos, corteses,

---

[1] MS reads "dubdat", and Mich so transcribed it. Pid, Az: "dubda", without indicating emendation.

[2] Pid: "Inglatierra".

[3] In the MS, "tierra" appears in superscript above the word "que". The copyist probably added in the word after realizing his oversight.

[4] MS reads "mantega". Pid: "mantega"; Mich: "mante(n)ga"; Az: "mantenga", without indicating emendation.

[5] Mich: "como".

[6] Pid: "mercet".

[7] Pid: "dino".

[8] Pid, Az: "Ferrand".

seredes los juezes d'aquestos pleyteses*,
oyendo ssus metros en ella[1]* grant villa.

Ffinida[2]

Señores, ssy[3] ellos me quiebran costilla
que den en mis ojos catorze pujeses*,
pero ssy les quiebro sus rrezios paveses
que amos sorraben* mi mula pardilla.

(Fol. 133v)
{CB 359} Rrequesta de Johan Alfonso contra Ferrán Manuel.

Ffernand Manuel, por que se publique
la vuestra çiençia de grant maravilla
en esta grant corte del rrey de Castilla,
conviene forçado que alguno vos pique;
mas por que ssepamos quien çena alfenique*
o carne de toro ssalada, muy tyesta,
sson nuestros[4] juezes del alta rrequesta
Alvaro de Luna e conde don Fadrique.

Fernand Manuel, pues ***unicuique***
data es graçia* doblada e senzilla,
non se vos torne la cara amarilla
por que mi lengua vos unte o salpique;
por ende vos rruego, señor, que se aplique
la vuestra persona ssotil, muy onesta,
dándome luego famosa rrepuesta
purgada con fuego del vuestro alanbique.

Ffinida[5]

Ferrand Manuel, avredes rreplique
por arte graçiosa, sotil e conpuesta,

---

[1] Pid: "essa". "Ella" is already an archaic form of the definite article "la", which reflects its origins in the Latin "illa". Menéndez Pidal comments on the development of "la" from "illa" in his Manual de gramática histórica española (16ª ed.), Sect. 100.2.

[2] Pid, Az: "Fynida".

[3] PId, Mich, Pid: "sy".

[4] Pid: "vuestros".

[5] Pid, Az: "Fynida".

atal qu'el rrey alto lo tome por fiesta
e rría del baque* qu'el uno tronpique[1]*.

{CB 360} Rrespuesta de Ferand[2] Manuel contra Juan[3] Alfonz[4].

Señor Juan Alfonso, pues anda el rrepique[5]
de vos ya tan claro por toda la villa,
que me rrequestades en son de rre<n>zilla[6]
commo[7] a los que vienen de contra Garnique:
jurando[8] lo digo al santo Cedrique[9]
que yo nunca tenga la novia muy presta,
sy a vuestra amiga non punço en la cresta
fasta que la madre sse le molifique*.

Señor Juan Alfonso, aquí se platique
la graçia graçiosa del alta conçilla
delante el muy lindo[10] león syn manzilla
a quien el[11] ssuperno señor clarifique,
e non presumades que se mortifique
la lunbre que alunbra[12] la rrica floresta,
que aquí vos farán por arte modesta
safumar la barva con fumo d'espique[13]*.

---

[1] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "trompique".

[2] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "Ferrand".

[3] *Mich*: "Johan".

[4] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "Alfonso"

[5] *Pid*: "trepique" for "rrepique".

[6] MS reads "rrezilla". *Mich*: "rresilla"; *Pid*, *Az*: "rrensilla", with no indication of emendation.

[7] *Pid*, *Az*: "como".

[8] *Mich* reads "urando", but there is a blank space where the *j* should go. It is assumed, therefore, that this was an error on the part of the typesetter.

[9] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "Fedrique".

[10] *Mich* emends unnecessarily as "li(n)do".

[11] The word "el" is omitted in *Az*.

[12] *Az*: "la lumbre que alumbra".

[13] *Pid*, *Az*: "despique"; *Mich*: "d'espique".

Ffinida[1]

Señor Juan Alfonso, notad el pedrique*,
que sy vuestra lengua la paz non protesta,
yo vos faré en otra liçión después d'ésta
las çejas en filo con el atrifinque*.

{CB 361} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso contra Ferrán[2] Manuel.

Ffernand Manuel, a los de Çadique
o del Açuayca[3] dallá de Sevilla,
o algunos gallegos de la costanilla[4],
porniedes vos miedo con vuestro rreplique;
mas a mi lengua[5] de fierro de Vique,
polida, graçiosa, que assy vos atiesta,
non le pornedes parlando de gesta
miedo tan grande que le terre<fi>que[6].

Fferrand[7] Manuel, non se glorifique
aquél que con miedo se caga en la silla,
ca sy vos catan so la rrabadilla
ffallarán[8] tal çumo que vos perjudique;
mas, por que la burla non se publique,
guardadvos, amigo, de aver[9] mala fiesta,
ca sy yo enpulgo* mi rrezia ballesta
la vida, la onrra tenéys en ***untrique***[10]*.

---

[1] Pid, Az: "Fynida".

[2] Mich: "Ferrand".

[3] Mich: "o de la Çuayca".

[4] Pid: "Costanilla".

[5] Pid: "mas no a mi lengua" erroneously.

[6] Mich follows the MS reading of "terreaque". We have emended it to "terre<fi>que". Az also gives "terrefique", but with no indication of emendation. Furthermore, Pid omits lines 7-8 of this strophe with the following footnote: "Faltan, al parecer, los dos últimos versos de esta estrofa" (p. 426n.).

[7] Pid, Mich, Az: "Ferrand".

[8] Mich: "fallaran".

[9] Mich: "aun".

[10] Previous editors did not note the Latinism in this line. Pid, Mich: "en un trique"; Az: "en vn trique". The word "untrique" appears to

(continued...)

Finida[1]

Fferrand[2] Manuel, tañer el farlique*
en harpa o guitarra echado de cuesta,
vos dó la ventaja, mas juro por esta[3]
que d'esta linda arte yo vos purifique.

{CB 362} Rrespuesta de Ferand Ma<n>uel[4] contra Juan[5] Alfonso.

Señor Juan Alfonso, por más que suplique
el çiego cucrillo[6]*, garçón de Sevilla,
con sus ojos turvios e falsa neguilla*,
non podría foyrme que non le duplique
persona catyva que Dios danifique*,
a quien todo el mundo por vil amonesta:
creetme don Suzio que ante de sesta
vuestras afliçiones yo vos las metrifique.

---

[10](...continued)
be corrupted Latin for utrimque or utrinque meaning "from/on both sides", or more generally, in Spanish, "por todas partes".

[1] Pid: "Fynida".

[2] Pid, Mich, Az: "Ferrand".

[3] Az notes that there is a cross in the MS at the end of this line (III, 816n.). Mich actually inserted the cross in his edition as though it might have meaning, but he does not attempt to explain it. The cross, which appears to have been written in the MS at the same time as the rest of the line, is of the Greek variety, all four arms of it being equal. The Spanish word for cross, cruz, is feminine in gender, and it seems somewhat possible--if we may speculate--that Baena may have been using a pictograph to complete the idea in the phrase "vos do la ventaja por esta" which makes little sense without a referent for "esta". Not being able to make the line scan properly, he could have resorted to this pictograph as a last measure, thereby giving "esta" the referent it requires, and respecting the letter--though not the spirit--of poetic convention. This explanation is offered as conjecture, since the whole notion of pictographs and their occurrence in medieval Spanish would require much more study.

[4] MS reads "Ferand Mauel". Pid, Mich, Az: "Ferrand Manuel", with no indication of emendation.

[5] MS abbreviation is "jnº", which we interpret as "Juan", the most common spelling of the name in the codex. Pid, Mich, Az: "Johan".

[6] Pid: transcribes "Currillo". Az: "Cucrillo", as though it were a person's name. The word cucrillo seems to be a variation on cuclillo or "cuckold".

Señor Juan Alfonso, pintor de taurique,
qual fue Pitas Payas, él de la fablilla*,
magüer vos andades acá por la villa
a vuestra muger bien ay quien la nique*,
qua[1] ella se flota debaxo del chazminique[2]*
a muy fuertes golpes con los de la Mesta*;
por ende sed cierto sy a mí me lo enpresta
que juegos le fa... el çiquezique[3]*.

Ffinida[4]

Señor Juan Alfonso, non se letifique
vuestra torpe boca más rrota que çesta,
que en las polidezas que el arte contesta
muy poco tenedes que vos gratifique.

(Fol. 134r)
{CB 363} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso[5] contra Ferán[6] Manuel.

Fferand[7] Manuel, boz mala vos gique*,[8]
diz que vos dexó en la cul cassilla[9]*
un chato pastor toda rrezmilla[10]*,
e fuese fuyendo al canpo d'Orique[11];

---

[1] MS clearly reads "qua", in the sense of the more common ca, in the sense of "porque". Pid, Az: "que"; Mich: "qu'a". It might have been spelled "qua" by a scribe who was more familiar with the Latin "qu<i>a" or who wanted to make his text appear more elegant.

[2] Mich: "charminique".

[3] As Az notes, "En el ms. hay un espacio en blanco tras la palabra fa, como si debiera completarse quizá en face" (III, 817n.). Pid, Mich, Az: "le fa el çiquesique".

[4] Pid: "Fynida".

[5] The copyist wrote "al" in the MS, before inscribing the abbreviated form of "Alfonso", which frequently appears as "Aº", as is the case in this example. I have therefore omitted the first "al". Pid, Mich, Az make no note of this.

[6] Pid, Az: "Ferran".

[7] Anac: "Fferrand".

[8] Pid, Az: "bos mala, vosgique".

[9] Mich: "culcassilla".

[10] As Az notes (III, 817n.), Pid transcribes "todo resinilla".

[11] Mich: "dorique".

por ende acorred que non frutifique
en vos algunt daño[1], tan mala tenpesta[2],
ca sy la materia quedó muy digesta*,
señor, medio puto vos queda el taxbique.*

Ffernand[3] Manuel, por <que> versefyque[4]
donayres mi lengua syn rraça e polilla,
sabed que vos mando de mula pardilla
dozena[5] de festes* en el quadruplique;
señor, non fynjades nin se magnifique
la vuestra persona en ser desonessta,
ca todos sabemos jugar de traspuesta*
delante del fijo del rrey don E<n>rrique[6]*.

Ffynida[7]

Ferand Manuel, por más que fforgique*
la vuestra cabeça liviana, dispuesta,
a Dios fago jura, miradme d'enpuesta[8],
que sy me picades[9] yo vos despelique*.

Aquí fyncó[10] el canpo[11] por Juan Alfonso de Baena.

---

[1] Pid: "danno".

[2] Az: "tempesta".

[3] Pid, Mich, Az: "Fernand".

[4] Pid: "por que versefique", with no indication of emendation. Mich: "por versefyque". Az mistakes the f for a long s in "versefynque" and the tilde over the y for an abbreviation sign and gives "por verse syn que" in his edition. Az notes the versions of his predecessors, stating that "Sin duda el ms. está equivocado y nos parece más aceptable la modificación de Pid" (III, 818n.). We believe that the only error in the MS is that the relative conjunction was left incomplete, the copyist having forgotten to insert "que" or "q̄" after the word "por".

[5] Pid: "desena".

[6] MS reads "errique". Mich emended the word like us. Pid, Az: "Enrrique" without indicating their emendation.

[7] Pid, Az: "Fynida"; Mich: "Finida".

[8] Mich: "depuesta".

[9] Pid: "picares".

[10] Mich: "fincó".

[11] Pid, Az: "campo".

{CB 364} Rrequesta que movió ant'el rrey nuestro[1] señor Juan Alfonso de Baena contra Alfonso Alvarez.

Señor, pues agora llegó de camino
el viejo, podrido costal de gargajos*,
presto le tengo xarope e brevajos*
de fiel e vinagre, p<o>nzoña[2] e venino;
de más, señor, juro sy Villasandino
non se me rrinde e da la ventaja,
que luego lo corra[3] allende de Daja[4]
sy non se me sube ençima del pino.

Ffynida[5]

Señor, fynalmente assy determino,
que esta mi lengua polida que taja
más que delgada e linda navaja
fará lo que dize so pena[6] del vino.

{CB 365} Rrespuesta de Alfonso Alvares contra Juan Alfonso.

Sseñor, este vil borrico ffrontino[7]*,
torçino* e rrelleno de vino e de ajos:
sus neçios afanes e locos trabajos,

---

[1] Pid: "nostro".

[2] MS reads "penzoña". Az notes the original (III, 818n.), but transcribes the z in the word as s and emends the reading to "ponsoña". Pid, Mich also read "ponsoña", but with no indication of emendation.

[3] Anac: "corro".

[4] Mich: "daja".

[5] Pid, Az: "Fynida".

[6] Mich: "sopena".

[7] At first glance, the MS appears to read "Sseñor, este vil borrico "ffputino". Pid omits the line altogether. Az comments on other editors' versions of the line (III, 819n.) while transcribing "ffputino" as "ssputino". Mich provides "ffrontino" for "ffputino" and Morgan accepts this as the correct version (27), noting that borrico frontino means "a donkey with a star on its forehead" (68). Upon close examination with a magnifying glass, one notes that what appears to be a p is actually a scribe's attempt to overlay an o with an r, in an attempt to correct his erroneous transcription. Comparison with other n's in the poem reveal that what looks like a u is actually an n. Thus, Michel was indeed correct in having transcribed the word as "ffrontino". In such a context, the phrase "este vil borrico ffrontino" could be interpreted metaphorically to mean "this pathetic, shameless ass".

es porque-l tengo[1] por t<r>obador[2] fino;*
en esto sse enfynge el ssuzio tohino*
e con muchos buenos levanta baraja,
e quien reçelase su parlar de graja,
más negro sería que cuervo merino*.

Ffynida[3]

Quien non es capaz bastante nin dino
de aquesta çiençia de que sse trabaja,
ssu argumentar non vale una paja
nin un mal cogonbro, tanpoco un pepino.

{CB 366} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso contra Alfonso Alvares.

Señor, pues el nesçio flemón* de toçino
e pobre de pelo, çurón de tassajos,*
con furia, con saña ya faze espumajos:
con el ssó rrebuelto commo[4] torbellino;
e por que conosca[5] el viejo mesquino
que d'esta lind'arte yo ssó mal alfaja*,
limada le tengo mi llave e çerraja
con que le çierre ssu flaco molino.

Ffynida[6]

Señor, syn ayuda de juez nin merino*,
ssy este pandero* non rronpe nin rraja,
yo le faré tunbar la sonaja
que suene más alta que boz[7] de pollino*.

---

[1] Mich: "tenga".

[2] MS reads "tpobador". No other editions have mentioned this irregularity.

[3] Pid, Az: "Fynida"; Mich: "Ffinida".

[4] Pid, Az: "como".

[5] Pid: "conosça".

[6] Pid, Az: "Fynida".

[7] Mich: "voz".

{CB 367} Rrespuesta de Alfonso Alvares contra Juan Alfonso.

Señor, este torpe, rribaldo çetrino*
ffydiondo* que huele a sudor de grajos*,
ssus[1] dichos negros más que escaravajos
non le valen nada al ssuzio ansanrino*;
e non sse le entyende al vil fforniçino*
qu'el mesmo sse llama rroyn sorondaja*,
pues que sus denuestos non vale<n>[2] meaja*,
mandatle que calle el tuerto chazino[3]*.

Ffynida[4]

Señor, yo juro al alto divino
que ssy sse non quita de majar do maja[5]*
que çedo* le cunple[6] buscar su mortaja*
al[7] villano nesçio, grimiente cochino.

{CB 368} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso contra Alfonso Alvares

Señor, pues el viejo está tan canino
e quiere comigo andar en rrendajos*,
yo le prometo de dar dos quebrajos
que-l salgan las tripas por el estentyno*;
pues cate que parrla el suzio mohino*,
(Fol. 134v)
taúr* rrenegado en lo que trastaja*,
ca ssy mi lengua del todo desgaja*,
rrasgad<a>[8] le veo ssu toca de lyno.

---

[1] Pid: "sus".

[2] MS reads "vale". Mich emends to "vale(n)". Pid, Az: "valen", with no indication of emendation.

[3] Pid, Mich: "hasino".

[4] Pid: "Fynida".

[5] Pid, Az: "dornaja".

[6] Pid: "cumple".

[7] Pid: "el".

[8] MS reads "rrasgado". Pid, Mich: "rasgado". Az: "rasgada", with a footnote as to the original reading (III, 821n.).

Ffynida[1]

Señor, non le culpo que ya pierde el tyno
e yerra los puntos ssu loca rrodaja*,
chupando las hezes de cuba e tynaja*
el pobre tiñosso* borracho contyno[2]*.

Non rrespondió; fyncó el canpo[3] por Juan Alfonso.

{CB 369} Rrequesta de Juan Alfonso contra Ferrant Manuel.

<A>l muy yllustrado[4], ssotil[5], dominante
que saca las cosas ffondo del abismo,
al rrymito[6]* pronto muy más que gracismo[7]*
en todas las artes maestro bastante,
al muy evidente, de noble ssenblante,
purífico, casto, muy alto poeta,
al lindo fidalgo, perssona discreta,
le fago pregunta por sser disputante.

Ffynida[8]

Dezidme, señor gentil, enperante,
ver mi amiga e nunca fablalla
o syenpre fablalla e nunca miralla:
de que-l[9] faga, d'esto me dat conssonante.

---

[1] *Pid*: "Fynida"; *Mich*: "Ffinida".

[2] *Mich*: "con tyno".

[3] *Pid*, *Az*: "campo".

[4] MS reads "El muy yllustrado". *Az* emends it to "Al" with a note as to the original reading (III, 822n.). *Pid* and *Mich* alter "El" to "Al" with no note. *Pid* reads "ilustrado" for "yllustrado".

[5] *Az*: "ssotyl".

[6] *Pid*, *Az*: "rrymico".

[7] Like *Pid*, we have retained the MS reading of "gracismo" *Mich*: "Graçismo"; *Az*: "graçismo", neither giving any indication of emendation.

[8] *Pid*: "Fynida".

[9] MS reads "quel". *Pid*: "qual".

{CB 370} Rrespuesta de Ferrán[1] Manuel contra Juan Alfonso.

Al noble, esmerado, ardit e constante,
bañado de agua de ssanto bautismo,
al sabio[2] profundo que por sylogismo[3]
penetra los çetros[4]* del çirculo estante*,
al puro jurista qu'el curso formante
doctó* perfecçiones de abto profeccta*,
al digno de alta e rryca planeta
pressento rrespuesta e só rreplicante.

Fynida

E assy rrespondió, non enbargante[5]
que nunca querades, amigo, salvalla,*
veyéndola syenpre podrá conquistalla
el vuestro graçioso e lyndo talante.

{CB 371} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso contra Ferrán Manuel.

Lyndo fydalgo, en la luna menguante
leystes poetas ssegunt que sofysmo,
por ende avissatvos por el inforismo*
del alto poeta rrectórico Dante,
e luego veredes que andades errante
assy commo[6] anda estrella cometa
quando rrecurssa al sol que ssometa
ssus rrayos distintos por ser ygualante.

---

[1] Pid: "Ferrand".

[2] Pid displaces the natural stress on the word, giving "sabío" in his edition.

[3] Mich: "sylogysmo".

[4] Pid: "çentros". Mich: "çe(n)tros".

[5] Az, like us, follows the MS reading, though he notes that the text "está viciado" (III, 823n.). Mich: "Ca ssy respondió, non enbargante". Pid: "e assy respondo yo non enbargante".

[6] Pid, Mich, Az: "como".

Ffynida[1]

E assy[2] concluyendo, gentyl cavalgante*,
ssostengo contrario de aquesta batalla,
que nunca se vençe por mucho otealla
ninguna fermossa[3] syn ser demandante.

{CB 372} Rrespuesta de Ferra<n>t[4] Manuel contra Juan Alfonso.

De todas çiençias sseyendo distante
ssegunt que sabedes mayor[5] que yo mismo,
non ssé poetría nin sé algurismo*:
deçiplo ssó synple, pessado, ygnorante;
mas, por que mi obra triunfe adelante,
catat que ssy abro my rrica maleta
por arte profunda ssotyl e muy rreta*
a vuestro argumento sseré rreprobante.

Ffynida[6]

Que vista de amor es causa mediante
para qualquiera fermosa cobralla,
e todo lo ál es arte contralla*
segunt los actores Vergillo e Demante.[7]

{CB 373} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso contra Ferán Ma<n>uel[8].

Puesto que ençima non ssó tan gigante
enbíovos, señor, este gargarismo*,
del qual rreniego sy yo non vos crismo,

---

[1] *Pid*: "Fynida".

[2] *Mich*: "Ca ssy".

[3] *Pid*: "fermossa".

[4] MS reads "ferrat". *Mich* emends like us to read "Ferra(n)t". *Pid*, *Az*: "Ferrant", with no indication of emendation.

[5] As *Az* indicates (III, 824n.), *Pid* transcribed "mejor".

[6] *Pid*, *Az*: "Fynida".

[7] *Pid*: "Damante"; *Mich*: "Dante".

[8] *Pid*, *Az*: "Ferran Manuel"; *Mich*: "Feran Manuel". None indicates emendations brought to the MS reading of "feran mauel".

magüera pensades que soys triunfante[1];
por ende sabet, don Bravo Elefante,
e non lo echedes en son de burleta,
que cota cachada e ffyna careta*
tengo buscada con que vos espante.

Ffynida[2]

De sser my vençido estat espetante
e ssynple rrequesta quered ya dexalla,
e sy non, prometo--creedme syn ffalla[3]--
que canpo vos ponga delante el infante.

{CB 374} Rrespuesta de Ferrant Manuel contra Juan Alfonso.

En syno esforçado e muy abundante
nasçistes, amigo, de grant ezorzismo*,
e non syento moro en el paganismo
que vuestra espada cruel non quebrante;
ca ssyenpre enfengistes de muy batallante
en obra de armas valiente, perfecta,
con escryvanías e tynta byen pryeta*
sumando las rrentas del año passante.

Ffenida[4]

(Fol. 135r)
Por tanto vos cunple de ser platicante
en esta çiençia e non olvidalla,
mas cúnplevos mucho la vista aclaralla,
ca syenpre[5] vos nota por mal devisante*.

{CB 375} Suplicaçión de Juan Alfonso para fray Diego.

Pues qu'el superno en vos rresplandeçe
con rrayos distyntos[6] e flama yllusa*,
e la poetría en vos es dyfussa

---

[1] *Mich*: "triumfante".

[2] *Pid*: "Fynida".

[3] *Pid*: "falla".

[4] *Pid*, *Az*: "Fenida".

[5] *Anac*: "ssyenpre".

[6] *Mich* emends unnecessarily, "disty(n)tos".

con todos sus modos en vos inflameçe;
por ende mi vysta sabet que escureçe
e non sé la vía por do me ssometa
a vos rradycante e lyndo poeta,
por que ayan p<arte> de vuestra lydesçe[1]*.

Fynida[2]

Señor Ferrant Sanches, a vos pertenesçe
ver mi pregunta sotil muy dyscreta
e ver la rrespuesta sy fue vía recta,
e dar la ventaja por quien lo meresçe.

{CB 376} Suplicaçión de Ferrant Ma<n>uel[3] para frey[4] Diego.

Corona de trobadores,
luz e flor de poetría,
la vuestra sabiduría
encubra los mis errores,
e amos a dos se<ñ>ores[5]
leed ssu alta rrequesta
e ved mi synple rrepuesta[6]
commo[7] lyndos ssabidores.

---

[1] MS reads "porque aya perterte de vuestra lydesçe", as *Az* indicates (III, 826n.). There is a tilde over the *y* and *a* of "aya", which may be either a meaningless diacritic or a sign that we should read "aya<n>". That it is a meaningless diacritic makes more sense however, given the context. *Az* emends to "aya parte", like *Pid*, but the latter makes no note of the original reading. *Mich* takes the tilde to mean the addition of a nasal, and so transcribes "ayan parte".

[2] *Pid*: "Fynida".

[3] MS reads "mauel". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "Manuel", with no indication of emendation.

[4] *Mich*, *Anac*: "fray".

[5] MS reads "senores, with the tilde over the "r", indicating the omission of an "e", underscored. *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "señores", with no indication of emendation.

[6] MS reads "rrepuesta". *Mich*: "rre(s)puesta"; *Az*: "rrespuesta".

[7] *Mich*, *Az*: "como".

Ffynida[1]

E con pyes de altos loores
quál fuere mejor conpuesta,
con verdat e más onessta[2],
lyeve guirlanda e flo<r>es[3].

{CB 377} Este dezir fizo e ordenó el maestro fray Diego de Valençia por quanto él fue tomado por juez e determinador de la rrequesta e debate que[4] en uno ovieron los dos batallantes Juan Alfonso de Baena e Fferrant[5] Manuel de Lando, segund que ante d'esto es contenido; en la qual rrequesta el dicho maestro dio esta setençia[6].

Nos[7] rreverentes por suma exçelençia
que yo sserviría mucho de tal<a>nte[8]*,
aquél que vos fizo vos lieve adelante
dándovos estado de grant rreverençia;
yo menos que maestro, pero de Valençia,[9]
merçet vos demando muy omilmente
que vos rresçibades en utyl pressente
el qual yo ofresco en son de setençia[10].

---

[1] *Pid*: "Fynida".

[2] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "onesta".

[3] MS reads "florres", the double *r* being represented by a capital *R*.

[4] *Mich* omits "que".

[5] *Mich*: "Ferrant".

[6] MS reads "setençia". We have chosen not to follow the emendation in *Mich* of "se(n)tençia", since this spelling occurs twice (see line 8 of the poem). *Pid*, *Az*: "sentençia", with no indication of emendation.

[7] *Mich*: "Vos".

[8] MS reads "talente". *Mich*, *Az* kept this version, while *Pid* emended with no indication of the original reading to "talante". The version in *Pid* is the more accurate for two reasons: 1) it makes sense, the meaning of "de talante" being synonymous with "de grado", and 2) it fits with the rhyme-scheme of ABBAACCA.

[9] This line proves to be perplexing: is "pero" a man's name (Pero) or the conjunction "pero"? It seems that "pero" is the most logical conclusion given that the judge is named as *Diego* de Valencia in the rubric.

[10] See note 2, rubric to *CB* 377. *Pid*, *Az*: "sentençia"; *Mich*: "se(n)tençia".

A vuestra demanda tan bien rrazonada
por ssus conssonantes de perfecto modo,
e creo ssyn[1] dubda que mi saber todo
en vuestro rrespecto es menos que nada;
por ende, señores, non ssea culpada
la mi ynorançia que es infynyta,
que non veo arte en cómmo[2] rrepita
la vuestra entençión tan bien declarada.

Por ende, sseñores, non piensa cordura
el que sse atreve a lo que non sabe,
pues tanta rrazón en vos amos cabe:
perdonat, sseñores, por vuestra mesura,
a mi saber synple e ynorançia pura
en me yo poner en fecho tan alto
do puedo caer e dar mayor ssalto
que dyo Mantuano por su desventura.

Leemos de Vergillio que fue grant poeta
en cómmo[3] el fuesse muy mal engañado,
e por sotyl arte en Rroma levado
a la más altura de la Ponçeleta[4]
por una donzella ffermosa e neta
que estava guardada en aquella torre
por donde el gran rryo de Tybere corre,
pues cate el neçio que non se entremeta.

Pues aqueste maestro en la astrología
assy fue engañado por una donzella:
¿que fará agora quien tyene por ella
rrequesta de muerte e muy grant porfía?
Por ende, sseñores, de my vos dyrya
que fago locura de me entremeter
en vuestra contienda nin algo saber
de vuestros debates por la poetría.

(Fol. 135v)

Mas vos por merçet[5] a mí la enbiastes
que dyesse sentençia en lo rrazonado,
e yo ynorante por vuestro mandado

---

[1] Between "ssyn" and "dubda" there is a blank space in the MS measuring about 1 cm in width.

[2] Pid, Az: "como".

[3] Pid, Az: "como".

[4] Pid: "Ponceleta".

[5] Pid: "mereçet".

trabajé un poco segunt que mandastes;
e vy la<s>[1] rrazones que vos allegastes
fablando en fygura vos dó conclussyón,
byen çierto e seguro de buena rrazón
que non vos olvide quando rrazonastes.

Vy una pregunta de doss letygantes*,
rrectóricos ffynos e especulatyvos[2],
en artes de trobas, sotyles, abtyvos[3]*,
entre los poetas assaz rradycantes;
fundan motyvo por ser tryunfantes
el uno del otro en esta demanda
abta e formada commo[4] la ley manda
ssegunt su devissa por sus consonantes.

Yo creo syn dubda que son dos poetas
envyssos* e sabyos syn otra fallençia*,
e byen se conoçe su alta ssabençia*
por sus rreputantes que son tan perfetas;
e vystas las rrazones muy mucho discretas
que son allegadas en cada lybeldo*,
non es por dubda syn dubda creeldo
que sson influydos[5] de syete planetas.*

E vysta la pregunta commo[6] es natural
en[7] tener amiga en todo nasçiente,
e vista su rrazón assaz sufyçiente
en commo[8] pregunta una rrazón tal:
"Señor rreverente, amigo leal,
yo veo a sseñora que nunca fablé
e fablo a otra que nunca miré,
por ende dezitme aquél que más val."[9]

---

[1] Although the MS reads "la", *Pid* and *Az* emended the word to "las" without any indication. *Mich* emended like us, "la(s)".

[2] *Mich*: "especulativos".

[3] *Pid*: "altyvos".

[4] *Pid*, *Az*: "como".

[5] *Mich*: "infinydos".

[6] *Az*: "como".

[7] *Pid*: "el" instead of "en".

[8] *Az*: "como".

[9] No previous edition has enclosed the last four lines of this stanza in quotation marks.

Vysta la pregunta ssotyl e perplexa
aquel[1] otro rresponde muy justa rrazón:
"Amigo, non puedo con mi coraçón
porver e mirar a la que me quexa."[2]
E vysto commo[3] dyxo qu'el fablar lo dexa
un poco gansso a Olysse cortés[4],
mas quando comide* que non sabe quién es
qu'el plazer de su fabla de él se rrelexa.

E visto dessy contra esta rrespuesta
commo el sabio Vaeno insyerto de suso,
por su contradita la rrazón que puso
que es paresçiente por Arte conpuesta,
diziendo el que ama amiga apuesta
la su vysta ssola non es abastante,
mostrar sus amores, dezir su talante,
ssól<o>[5] por su fabla que en su cor* es puesta.

Yo fallo syn dubda en fylossofya[6]
que los çinco ssessos son nesçessarios
y lybran[7] al cuerpo de muchos contrarios
e danle plazer[8] ssyquiera algunt día;
pero que ay entre ellos muy grant mejoría,
ssegunt rrepresentan ojectos que vees,
asy lo confyrman decretos e leyes
e más puramente la grant theología.

---

[1] Mich: "a qu'el".

[2] Az is the only previous edition to enclose lines 75-76 in quotation marks. Mich, line 76, transcribes "porver" as one word and keeps MS reading of "me quexa". Pid, Az: "por ver". Az emends the last word of the line to "me aquexa" with a footnote indicating the MS reading; Pid emended it with no annotation. We have chosen to transcribe the word as "quexa", in keeping with the original MS reading, and to follow Mich's reading of "porver", a medieval corruption of "proveer".

[3] Az: "como".

[4] This is a problematic line. Pid, Az: "un poco gansso, molyss é cortés"; Mich: "un poco gansso moly sse cortés". We see in the MS that what could be taken for a stylized m is actually an upper-case stylized A. Whence our version, the judge of the debate referring to one of the poets as a metaphorical Ulysses.

[5] MS reads "ssola", the reading we find in Mich. Pid, Az: "ssolo", the latter indicating the emendation brought to the text.

[6] Mich: "fylosofya".

[7] Pid: "libran".

[8] Anac differs from Pid in that it prints "plazer" instead of "plaser".

E porque la vista[1] es causa notoria
para ver a Dios los om<m>*es*[2] perfectos,
porque demuestra*n* diverssos ojetos
aq*ué*llos *que* byve*n* en gra*n*t vanagl*or*ia;
por ende propongo co*n* san*a* m*e*moria
de dar mi sente*n*çia sy*n* otra rrevista,
que de çynco ssesos mejor es la vista,
asy la pronu*n*çio por más perentoria*.

Enpero, señores, sy non dixe byen,
demando perdón a v*uest*ra nobleza.
Encobrid la falta de mi gra*n*t rrudeza
e veed la sente*n*çia a quál parte vyen,
dando mejoría aquél que la tyen.
En esto concluye mi breve rrespuesta
e çesse jamás tener tal rrequesta
aquél que ynjusto porfya ma*n*tyén[3].

Fynida

E non pague costas la part*e* adv*e*<r>sa[4],
pues ovo rrazón en esta contye*n*da,
salvo una g*ui*rlanda, que dé por e*n*mie*n*da[5],
de muy lyndas flores, pues fue tal req*ue*st*a*.

---

[1] *Pid*, *Az*: "vysta".

[2] The MS reads "oms" with a bold horizontal stroke over the *m*, suggesting the omission of a written *e* and not the doubling of the bilabial nasal. Since the customary spelling of the word at the time of the writing of the codex is "ommes", we have added the extra *m* in brackets. *Pid*, *Az*: "ommes", with no indication of emendation; *Mich*: "ombres".

[3] In keeping with the rhyme-scheme of the poem, we have not accepted the MS reading of "mantyen*e*". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "mantyen", with no indication of the MS reading.

[4] MS reads "adusa" with a horizontal abbreviation stroke over the *u*, suggesting the omission of an *e*. Possibly the scribe erroneously inscribed this horizontal stroke, meaning to put the customary c-shaped abbreviation sign over the *u*, which would indicate the omission of *er*. *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "adversa", with no indication of emendation. *Az* notes that, notwithstanding this alteration, the line still does not conform to the *-esta* rhyme required by the last line of the "finida": "Tiene razón Lang cuando advierte que, de no admitirse la asonancia, es más adecuada la palabra *opuesta* que *aduersa*" (III, 831n.).

[5] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "emienda".

(Fol. 136r)
{CB 378} Rrequesta de Juan Alfonso contra Ferrá<n> Manuel[1].

Fferant[2] Manuel, a los cabeçones
conbusco desseo andar cossa estraña[3]
delante del alto león, rrey de España,
por arte graçiossa de los rrepullones;
enpero sy aya de Dios bendiçiones
que quanto más miro por todas las partes,
tanto vos veo ffyngido en las artes
que suben al çielo los vuestros pendones.

Ferrant Manuel, çient mill perfeçiones
que Dios en vos puso, sabet que las daña
la mucha çapera* rrebuelta con saña
que syenpre mostrades en vuestras quistiones[4];
por ende, fydalgo, por estos rrenglones
yo desafyo vuestros estandartes
delante el rrey alto[5] de oy para el martes
prymero que viene, syn más dilaçiones.

Fynida

Fferrant[6] Manuel, en fyn de rrazones,
sy vos me golpades los mis talabartes[7]*,
consynto por pen<a>[8] que vuestros pyllartes*
me freguen los dientes con tres cagajones.

Non rrespondió; fyncó el canpo por Juan Alfonso.

---

[1] This rubric appears twice, at the end of Folio 135v and at the beginning of Folio 136r. We have chosen to follow the more accurate first version, as it seems the others did. The version on Folio 136r leaves out the abbreviation stroke over "ferran". Pid, Az: "Ferrant".

[2] Pid, Mich, Az: "Ferant".

[3] Pid, Az put the phrase "cossa estraña" in apposition, as though it were an aside on the part of the poet. We consider it the object of the verbal phrase "desseo andar".

[4] Pid, Mich, Az: "questiones".

[5] Pid: "altoo".

[6] Pid, Mich, Az: "Ferrant".

[7] Az: "talabares".

[8] Mich: "pen(a)". Az: "pen", with note stating, "En el ms. pen por pena. Pid, Anac, pen" (III, 832n.).

{CB 379} Rrequesta de Juan Alfonso contra Alfonso Álvares.

Maestro ençelente, profundo, letrado,
letrado, famosso[1], dyscreto, muy dyno,
muy dyno vezino del vino muy fino,
fyno de Yllescas[2], gentyl, colorado:
de grado
conbusco desseo entrar en rrequesta
en esta gran corte e alta floresta
por ver sy daredes graciosa[3] respuesta
a lo que vos fuere por mí preguntado.

Esto por quanto es vuestra çyençya,
çiençia muy pura de alta poeta,
poeta dyscreta, profecta eleta,
eleta de onrra e grant priminençia:
eçelençia
a vos sea dada de los trobadores
de toda Castylla con muchos loores,
e altos poetas e nobles cantores
vos den la corona con grant rrevere<n>çia[4].

Enpero por carta del noble pryvado,
pryvado leal del rrey muy graçioso,
graçioso, vistosso, donosso, fermosso,
fermosso commo[5] ángel, yo ssó aquí llegado,
cargado
de muchos dezires e artes graçiosas,
e lyndas preguntas de altas fazañas,
e quiero conbusco jugar a las cañas*
delante del rrey muy alto ylustrado.

Por ende vos rruego, señor, viejo cano,
cano que luego busquedes careta*,
careta muy neta, barreta*, tronpeta,
tronpeta e cavallo valyente, alazano*
o rruano*,
e cota cachada, braçales e guantes,*
e tynta e papel e plumas tajantes,

---

[1] *Anac*: "famoso".

[2] *Pid*, *Az*: "Illescas".

[3] We have retained the MS reading of "graciosa". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "graçiosa", with no indication of emendation.

[4] MS reads "rreuereçia". *Pid*, *Mich*: "rreverençia"; *Az*: "rreuerençia", none with any indication of emendation.

[5] *Pid*, *Az*: "como".

ca jura vos fago que mis conssonantes[1]
vos lleven fuyendo e[2] por cuesta e por llano.

Fynida

Sy esto fazedes serán publycantes
los vuestros loores e más dominantes,
por quanto el rrey e duques, infantes
con vuestra rrequesta <a>vrán[3] gassajado.

Non rrespondió; fyncó el canpo[4] por Juan Alfonso.

{CB 380} Suplicaçión que fyzo e ordenó Juan Alfonso de Baena para el rrey nuestro[5] señor.

Señor dominante e muy soberano,
rrey de Castilla, león coronado,
en syno muy rryco por Dios costelado*,
amado e temido por cuesta e por llano:
yo, Juan Alfonso, un vuestro escryvano,
con mucha mesura e grant rreverençia,
a vuestra persona de alta excelençia[6]
presento esta carta bessando la mano.

Señor tryunfante e muy soberano,
de altas vertudes guarnido* e dotado,
por darvos plaçeres e buen gasajado,
yo rrequesté antaño[7] en verano
al viejo d'Yllescas e al grant sevillano,
poetas famoss<o>s[8] de grant priminençia[9],

---

[1] *Mich*: "consonantes".

[2] This conjunction "e" is omitted in *Pid*, *Mich*, and *Az*.

[3] Only *Mich*, like us, emended the MS reading of "vran" to "(a)vran". *Pid*: "auran"; *Az*: "avran".

[4] *Az*: "campo".

[5] *Pid*: "nostro".

[6] MS reads "excelençia". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "exçelençia", with no indication of emendation.

[7] *Pid*: "antanno".

[8] MS reads "famossas". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "famossos", with a note in *Az* indicating the original reading (III, 834n.).

[9] MS reads "priminençias". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "priminençia", with no indication of MS reading.

pero que presumo en esta çyençya
que anda<n>[1] a caça con flaco milano*.

(Fol. 136v)
<S>eñor[2] enperante, muy soberano,
para que lo dicho paresca provado,
mandat ordenar lo que es proçesado
en blanco papel broñido[3], toscano*;
e con vuestro juyzio discreto, muy sano,
de mucho donayre e linda[4] prudençia,
la vuestra merçet dará la sentençia
por el que picare mejor en el grano*.

Fynida

Señor yllustrante e muy soberano,
ante la vuestra muy alta pr<e>sencya[5],
el grant condestable dyrá mi creençia[6]
con gesto rryente, alegre e loçano.

{CB 381} Suplicaçión que fizo e ordenó el dicho Juan Alfonso para el señor condestable.

Grand señor a quien Dios guarde
e acreçiente su grandeza[7],
la vuestra merçet non tarde
de ussar[8] de gentyleza;
pues en vos nunca falesçe
commo[9] aquél que rresplandeçe
por leal e que meresçe

---

[1] Mich adheres to the clearly erroneous MS reading of "anda". Pid, Az: "andan", with no indication of emendation.

[2] MS reads "Eñor". Pid, Mich, Az: "Señor", with no indication of emendation.

[3] Mich: "bronido".

[4] Pid, Az: "lynda".

[5] MS reads "prsencya". Pid, Mich, Az: "presençya", with no indication of emendation.

[6] Mich: "çiençia".

[7] Pid: "grandeça".

[8] Pid: "usar"; Az: "vsar".

[9] Pid, Mich, Az: "como".

ser pujado en más alteza
por ussar de grand[1] linpieça.

Grant[2] señor a quien Dios guarde
e acreçiente su rriqu<e>za[3],
nunca vos senty covarde,
mas ardyt con fortaleza;
por ende a vos perteneçe
qu'el muy alto que enrryqueçe
commo[4] rrey e rresplandeçe,
que me libre ssu lyndeza
la mi carta con flaqueza.

Fynida

Grant señor, Dios adereçe
vuestra vida syn tristeza,
por que el rrey con rrealeza
vos sostenga con firmeça.

{CB 382} Este dezir fyzo e ordenó Juan Garçía de Vynuesa, ofiçial de Juan Garçía[5] de Sorya, despensero del rrey nuestro[6] señor; el qual fyzo commo a manera de pregunta e rrequesta contra Juan Alfonso de Baena e tomando la boz de Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino, e comiença assy:[7]

Johan Alfonso de Baena,
de la çena
vos guardat quanto podedes,
pues sabedes
que lo pone assy Aviçena,

---

[1] *Mich*: "grant".

[2] *Pid*: "Gran".

[3] MS reads "Riquza". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "riquesa", with no indication of emendation.

[4] *Pid*, *Az*: "como".

[5] *Pid*: "Garcia".

[6] *Pid*: "nostro".

[7] As *Az* notes: "En la edición de *Mich* se disponen de otro modo los versos de este poema y de los cinco que siguen" (III, 836n.). What *Mich* does, in effect, is to separate the sixth and seventh lines of each strophe into four separate lines, e.g., "que Bervena / nin Arena / con Villena / e Requena ..."

que Bervena nin Arena,
con Villena e Requena,
dubdo sy podríen buscar
a sanar
los que mueren d'esta esquena[1]*.

Albur*, congryo nin morena,
nin de Mena[2],
truchas por Dios non conbredes[3]*,
nin faredes
fijos en muger ajena[4]
que condena a grant pena
e deslena* la serena
con muy dulçe cantar
por dañar
los que van por la mar llena.[5]

Por que ayades buen estrena,
Sant' Elena
vos guíe lo que queredes
por que dedes
preçes a la Madalena,
de dozena en quintena,
de veyntena[6] en çentena
vos fagan multiplicar
e pujar
en mucho trigo e avena.

---

[1] *Mich*: "esquina".

[2] *Mich*: "demena".

[3] *Mich*: "comedes".

[4] *Pid*, *Az* end this line with a colon. *Mich* ends this line with a semi-colon.

[5] As *Az* notes, lines 19 and 20 appear as one line in the MS (III, 837n.), but what he fails to indicate is that the copyist, or a later reader of the MS, realized the error and showed that they were to be separated: "por dañar⌈los q̄ van por la maʳ llena".

[6] *Mich* emends unnecessarily to "vey(n)tena".

{CB 383} Rrepuesta[1] de Juan Alfonso de Baena contra Juan Garçía.

Pues mi lengua es barrena
que çerçena
quanto falla, segunt vedes.
Mal fazedes
en picar assy en mi vena,
pues novena e dozena,
e onzena e trezena
vezes vos ffaré[2] sudar
e rrodar
más rredondo que colmena.

(Fol. 137r)

Ca vuestra arte non es buena
segunt suena:
d'esto non vos enssañedes
nin rryfedes
por que andemos a Morena;
ca Mux<e>na[3] nin Gerena,
nin Marchena, Mayrena,
non me podríen[4] rrequestar
por trobar
nin vos menos, segunt truena.

Los señores de Lerena
e Luçena[5]
vos farán muchas merçedes:
non dud<ed>es[6];
sy metéys en Socarrena

---

[1] We have kept to the MS reading of "Repuesta". *Pid* transcribed the word similarly, but without the initial double *r*: "Repuesta". *Mich*: "Re(s)puesta". *Az*: "Respuesta", with no indication of emendation.

[2] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "fare".

[3] *Mich* gives the MS reading of "Muxana", which does not fit with the internal rhyme-scheme of -*ena*. *Pid*, *Az*: "Muxena", with no indication of emendation.

[4] *Az*: "podryen".

[5] *Pid*: "Lucena".

[6] MS reads "dudes", and thus emends it to "dudedes". *Pid* does likewise with no indication of the original reading. *Mich* emends, like us, to "dud(ed)es". *Az*: "dudedes", with a note as to original reading (III, 838n.).

mi vallena* e atacena[1]*
en la malena* del almena*,
vos me dades syn tomar
nin furtar
del cantar de Çegaluena.

{CB 384} Rrepuesta[2] de Juan Garçía contra Juan Alfonso.

El rrey, señor de Fugena[3],
la cadena
vos eche que mereçedes,
pues tenedes
los ojos de berengena;
de Purechena a Camarena,
de Taraçena a Carmena
vos fagan luego trocar
e folgar
en la nao so el antena.

Avréys negra quarentena
e de la trena
meresçedor non seredes,
nin avredes
el amor de[4] Puliçena;
catorzena e treyntena,
cinquentena[5], sententena[6]
vezes me façéys dubdar
por vos dar
con una tripa rrellena.

Apartado en Cartajena
o en Ximena,
vos cunple syenpre que estedes
e rrezedes
bien el ***Ave graçia plena***;

---

[1] Like Pid, we have retained the MS reading of "atacena". Mich, Az: "ataçena", with no indication of emendation.

[2] See p. 105, footnote 1.

[3] Pid: "Sugena"; Mich: "señor de Gena".

[4] The copyist wrote "de" twice in a row in this line. Like Pid, Mich, Az, we have deleted one of them.

[5] Like Pid, we have retained the MS reading of "cinquentena". Mich: "çinquantena"; Az: "çinquentena", with no indication of emendation.

[6] The third syllable of setentena, "-te-", appears in superscript above the last syllable "-na" in the MS.

en Archena e Taraçena
la patena e el açuçena[1]
vos farán aministrar
por ganar
el cornado e la çinquena.*

{CB 385} Rrespuesta de Juan Alfonso contra Juan Garçía.[2]

Sseñor, mal se desordena
e desuena
la rrequesta que traedes,
pues le<e>des[3]
que en la partida ssetena
se ordena que en Guyllena,
e Carchena e Araçena
suelen los perros besar
e fynchar
los que non traen curmena[4]*.

My rroçín de Caçatena
ya se estrena
muy gentyl qual vos sabedes,
pues veredes
la borra quién la carmena[5];
ca en Truxena e Cortyxena,
e Garruchena e Trebuxena
non vos daríen por rrymar
un millar
de pedos d'asna morena.

Quien su lengua desenfrena
en agena,

---

[1] *Pid*: "la Patena é Alçuçena". In the fifteenth century, *el* replaced *la* not only before feminine nouns with an initial tonic *a*, but also before feminine nouns with an initial atonic *a* (Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática histórica*, §100_2).

[2] *Pid*: "Garcia".

[3] MS reads *leades*, the second syllable of which, "-a-", appears in superscript above the last syllable, "-des", as though an attempt at correction was later made by a proofreader. *Pid*, *Az*: "leedes", with no indication of emendation. The emendation is correct, however, since it agrees with the established rhyme-scheme. *Mich* transcribed *leades*. *Az* claims that the superscript letter in the codex is an *e* and not an *a* (III, 840n.).

[4] *Pid*: "cuzmena".

[5] MS reads "carmerna". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "carmena", with no indication of the original reading.

su onor bien entendedes
con las rredes
que toman la Fylomena[1],
en Rrexuxena o Pueslena[2],
o Camarena o Escaçena[3]
vos cunple[4], señor, morar
o ssorabar*
d'esta vez mi moça Elena.

(Fol. 137v)
{CB 386} Duplicaçión[5] de Juan Garçía contra Juan Alfonso.

El grande prinçipe de Atena
en Vaegna
vos de aquesto non dubdedes,
que pornedes
vuestro cuerpo en arrehena[6]*;
a Ssatulena e Burbajena[7],
e Entrena e Albullena
yredes[8] a desenbarcar
e cassar
con la lynda mora Usmena.

Con judía Aben Xuxena[9]
o Cohena[10]
bien me plaze que burledes
e çenedes
de la vestinosa[11] çena;

---

[1] *Pid*: "fylomena".

[2] *Mich*: "o pues Lena".

[3] *Pid*: "Escacena".

[4] *Pid*: "cumple".

[5] *Mich*: "Duplication".

[6] *Mich*: "Arrehena", as though it were a place-name.

[7] *Pid*: "Satolena é Barbajena". *Az* noted only the error in the first word quoted (III, 841n.).

[8] *Pid*: "iredes".

[9] *Mich*: "Abenxuxena".

[10] *Mich*: "cohena".

[11] *Pid*: "vescinosa".

en ochena e trezena,
e sezena e ochentena
de moros de Gibraltar
albenicar[1]*
e comet de la çahena*.

La enperatriz Melerena[2]
e Jufrena[3]
vos den quanto demand<e>des[4],
e guardedes[5]
la puerta de Macarena,
la faena e cordovena[6]*,
e desmelena la carrena*
luego vos fallan[7] catar
e pegar
de palos la setentena.*

{CB 387} Rrespuesta de Juan Alfonso contra Juan Garçía[8].

De vyl gente sarraçena
o agarena*
bien creo que non vernedes[9]
nin sseredes
fijo d'abat de Valbuena,
nin d'Elena, Jamilena[10],
que en Canena la serena
el vino del pie del altar
al pilar
de la puerta del Almudena.

---

[1] Mich: "Albenicar", as though it were a place-name.

[2] Pid: "Melezena".

[3] Mich: "Infrena".

[4] Pid correctly emends to "demandedes", but without indicating the original MS reading of "demandades". Mich, Az: "demandades", in conformity with the MS.

[5] Mich: "guardades".

[6] Mich: "la Faena / é Cordovena".

[7] Pid: "fallen".

[8] Pid: "Garcia".

[9] Mich: "vinedes".

[10] Pid: "nin de lena jumilena"; Az: "nin de lena jamilena".

En tierra de la Sserena
o de Cuena
vos, don Sy<e>npre[1], buscaredes
do senbredes, pues que el tienpo[2]
agora abuena*;
ca en Rrevena[3], luna crehena,*
el pan enseña e en arena[4]
que non podrýedes arar
nin senbrar
sy el çielo non serena.

Agua de Sierra Morena
nin de Ssena
Juan Garçía non bebedes,
pues bolvedes
berças con guardamelena[5];*
fuelles suenan[6] e mal suena
e non consuena nin rretruena,
que[7] non se sabe sonar
nin alinpiar
su nariz quando se suena.

{CB 388} Xaque que dio Juan Alfonso contra Juan Garçía por quanto non treplicó[8] a esto postrimero.

Juan Garçía, buen amigo,
creo que sodes conclusso
sy bien leen lo de susso
los que saben lo que digo;
e de más dó por testigo
al muy alto rrey loado

---

[1] Pid and Mich follow the MS reading of "Synpre". Anac (straying from Pid) and Az give "Syenpre", with no indication of emendation.

[2] Az: "tiempo".

[3] Pid: "rrevena".

[4] Pid, Az: "el pan en sena e enarena".

[5] Pid, Az: "guarda melena". Today the expression "volver berças con guardamelena" would be "mezclar berzas con capachos".

[6] Pid, Az: "suena"; Mich: "sueña". Could "fuelles" be a nick-name, i.e., "Bellows"? Or could it be "el fuelle"? If so, Mich could be more correct.

[7] Pid, Az: "quien".

[8] Pid, Mich: "rreplico".

e al gentyl de su privado
qu'el vuestro rrymar elado
que non vale sólo un figo.

{CB 389} Mate que dio Juan Alfon[1] de Baena a Juan Garçía porque non treplicó[2] al plazo.

Pues non vino Juan Garçía
nin otro que por él fable:
rrecuso la rrebeldía
ante vos, el rrey notable;
ca quien non[3] viene al plazo
bien puede caher en lazo
e cobrar muy grand pelmazo*
sy se duerme al terçer día.

---

[1] *Mich*: "Alfonso".

[2] *Pid*, *Mich*: "rreplico".

[3] *Pid*, *Az*: "no".

(Fol. 138r)

{CB 390} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfon[1] de Baena contra Juan García de Vinuessa, rrequestándole por arte nueva por quanto non sopo o non osó[2] rresponder a la rreplicaçión postrimera de Juan Alfonso que está ante d'esto.

Johan Garçía, muy ayna*
se vido vuestro denuedo*,
pues mostrades, segunt cuedo*,
quánta es vuestra dotrina.
Yo vos mando diçiplina
de xarope muy azedo;
por ende fablemos quedo
en la lynda poetrya
syn porfía,
en caso qu'este manjar
no<n>[3] es de vuestro paladar,
yo dyría:

Johan Garçía, la ssardina
es sabrossa de Laredo,
e los rrávanos de Olmedo,
e d'Arjona la gallyna,
e del trigo la ffaryna[4],
o armiños para Rruedo
con bolsyllas de Toledo,
para yr en merchandya
tomaría:
mas onbre para trobar
de Vinuesa, de Melgar
non querrya.

Johan Garçía, en la marquina*
vos sabredes en Oviedo
fazer natas de mohedo[5],*
o coger çerca Merlyna
las vellotas del enzina,
orar en grand bohedo

---

[1] Mich: "Alfonso".

[2] Pid: "osso".

[3] Mich transcribed the MS reading of "no". Pid and Az give "non" with no indication of emendation. We showed the emendation, since this is the only occurrence of "no" in the poems forming this edition, which suggests that the tilde over the "o" was left out as a scribal oversight.

[4] Pid, Az: "faryna".

[5] Pid, Az: "Mohedo".

con abarcas de mazedo;
mas fablar con maestría,
meludía,
con donayre ssyngular
por el arte del rrymar
yo sabría.

Johan Garçía, el Anrryquina[1]
vos mostró leer el Credo
e las glosas del[2] Grofedo,
escriptura santa e dyna;
pues mi sseso determina
qu'el doctor de Açevedo
e el abad de Carrazedo
judgarán ssyn vandería,
mejoría,
al mi lyndo rreplycar,
e de vos me deve<n>[3] dar
sseñoría.

Johan Garçía, mi adefyna*
vos daré[4] yo mucho çedo,
pero póngovos de gredo
con mi lengua paladyna
que vuestra[5] arte tan mesquina
non paresca, assy lo viedo;
pues Johan Gil de Rrebolledo
non trobó cossa tan frya:
villanía
fezistes en rrequestar,
pues non sabedes fablar
aljamía[6]*.

Johan Garçía, en arte fyna
non rrespondedes un pedo,
¿pues por qué ponedes miedo
al maestro en medeçina?
Ca la vuestra capellyna

---

[1] Pid, Az: "anrryquina".

[2] Az: "de".

[3] Mich follows the MS reading of "deve". Pid, Az: "deven", with no indication of emendation.

[4] Pid: "diré"; Az: "dire".

[5] Pid: "vestra".

[6] Pid: "al jamia".

es rronpida[1] con mi dedo,
sy yo fago quanto puedo
con mi lynda escrivanía
por que rrya
el muy alto rrey syn par
quando quisyere tomar
alegría.[2]

(Fol. 138v)
{CB 391} Este dezir fyzo e ordenó el dicho Juan Garçía de Vynuesa contra el dicho Juan Alfonso de Baena en rrespuesta de aqueste su dezir que ante d'éste está puesto e va por los mesmos consonantes.

Johan Alfonso, por talvina*
comeréys çumo de bledo*
con cucharas del buxedo*
rrebuelto con palomina,
non medre la golondrina
que assy chirla en alamedo,
rrapossillo[3] de Avavanedo[4]:
Dios vos meta en negro día
e daría
ssy vos fyziesse çegar
a los que suelen rrezar
conpañía.

Johan Alfonso, una cozina
guardaredes en Rrenedo[5],
e villotas de rrobredo[6]
yd[7] vender a Constantina;
pues vuestro sseso adevina

---

[1] Anac: "rrompida".

[2] A new strophe of eight lines, completely unrelated in theme and metre to the poem that precedes it, begins immediately after this line. This is the poem numbered "390 bis" by Azáceta. Lang, who numbers it 390a, attributes it to Baena (p. 19). It may or may not have been composed by Baena, and seeing that it is only fragmentary and there is no point of reference to relate it to any other poem, we have decided to omit it. Az indicates that Pid and Mich included this eight-line strophe as an integral part of CB 390.

[3] Pid, Mich, Az: "raposillo".

[4] Mich: "avanedo".

[5] Mich: "Revedo".

[6] Mich: "Robredo".

[7] Pid: "Id".

rrarofylos[1] de molledo[2],*
de vendimias de viniedo
en manjar yo vos pornía[3]*,
e farya
que vos fyziessen andar
con las gualtas* a parlar
cada día.

Johan Alfonsso[4], la maetina*
e el cura de Tartañedo[5]
con <e>l[6] sacristán de Arenedo[7]
rrezar con la vespertina*
con vuestra casa cozina
vos ponen en Alissedo[8]:
estás de cabrón egüedo*,
ya vos dan en costadía
mayoría
ssobre todos e<n> ssaltar[9],
non vos cunple ya llamar
Andaluzía.

Johan Alfonso, de rrapina*
ussades commo en Cabedo[10]:
yo lançaré al casstañedo
vuestra ponzoña malina
con engrudo* de latrina.
Mascat piñas de piñedo
con rrayz de çerazedo*,

---

[1] Pid: "Karofylos". Az misreads Pid stating that the latter transcribed "karofilos" (III, 848n.).

[2] Mich: "Molledo".

[3] Mich: "porvia".

[4] Anac: "Alfonso".

[5] Pid, Az: "Tartanedo".

[6] MS reads "conl", with no abbreviation sign. Pid, Mich, Az: "el", with no indication of emendation.

[7] Mich: "Arnedo".

[8] Mich: "alissedo".

[9] Pid, Az: "sobre todos en ssaltar". Evidently, the scribe left out the tilde above "e". Mich did not correct the line, but transcribed the MS reading of "sobre todos e ssaltar".

[10] Mich: "cabedo". We agree with Pid and Az that the context suggests that "Cabedo" is a place-name.

44 pues ya vuestra alcanzía
es vazía;
non vos cunple más estar
en la corte por ganar
48 nonbradía.[1]

Johan Alfonso, de corvina
quando fueredes por Cayzedo,
ssy Dios vos lieva a Ssalizedo
52 vos ffará buena cozina;
pues mirades de esquina,
ydvos[2] a Villaprovedo
comiendo pan duro e hedo*
56 e traeredes[3] en çelossya
garçonía.
Non vos puede ally menguar:
tal donçel el donecar[4]*
60 meresçía.[5]

Johan Alfonso, vuestra[6] azina*
vos faze salir denuedo[7]*,
e nunca distes el nuedo*
64 a vuestra rrota vayna.

---

[1] Our punctuation here differs from that of previous editors.

[2] Pid, Az: "id vos".

[3] Mich: "entraredes" instead of "e traeredes".

[4] Az notes that Lang proposes the emendation of the manuscript's donecar to the "conocido verbo provenzal" doneiar (III, 850n.). At the same time, however, he fails to indicate in which of Lang's works this reference is found. Fortunately, we were able to locate it on p. 522 of H.R. Lang's "Formas estróficas y términos métricos del Cancionero de Baena" found in volume 1 of the Estudios eruditos in memoriam de A. Bonilla (Madrid: n.p., 1927).

[5] Our insertion of pauses in this stanza (commas, semi-colons, colons, etc.) generally agrees with the punctuation found in Pid and Az. Because Mich misread "e traeredes" (l. 56) for "entraredes", and possibly because he misunderstood the line, he renders a completely different interpretation of the end of the stanza as follows:

> (...)
> yd vos á Villaprovedo;
> comiendo pan duro é hedo,
> entraredes en çelossya.
> Garçonia
> non vos puede ally menguar;
> tal donçel el donecar
> meresçia. (lines 54-60)

[6] Anac: "vuestro".

[7] Pid: "de muedo".

Yo con manera benigna,
con buen gesto synple e ledo,
el mi arco de texedo[1]
lançaré ssyn covardía,
e ternía
de vos breve conquistar,
e ffazervos apartar
en Pernía[2].

{CB 392} Este dezir fyzo[3] e ordenó el dicho Juan Alfonso de Baena contra el dicho Juan Garçía de Vinuesa en rreplicaçión de la rrepuesta[4] que le dio al su dezir primero[5], que por esta arte le fyzo[6] ante d'esto.

(Fol. 139r)

Johan Garçia, muy ladina
es mi arte que proçedo,
e non es segunt conçedo
tal la vuestra vyl mohyna*,
muy astrosa, ffornezina[7]*;
por lo qual sy mal haedo*,
yo vos dó o vos ençedo*.
Non será la culpa mía:
astrosía
vos ffazés[8] en baldonar[9]
al que vos puede sangrar
del[10] enzía.

---

[1] Pid, Azac: "Texedo".

[2] Mich: "pernia".

[3] Mich: "fiso"; Pid, Az: "fyso".

[4] Mich: "rre(s)puesta".

[5] Pid: "primo".

[6] Mich: "fiso"; Pid, Az: "fyso".

[7] PId, Az: "fornesina"; Mich: "ffornesina". Like Mich we have chosen to separate this word form "astrosa" with a comma, since it is an adjective. Pid and Az seem to have treated it as a noun, or at the very least as an adjective with the quality of a noun, since they treat "astrosa" as its qualifier and, thus, do not separate those two words with a comma.

[8] Pid, Az: "fasés"; Mich: "ffases".

[9] Mich: "enbaldonar".

[10] Az: "den".

Johan Garçía, serpentina
es mi lengua de Tancredo[1],
e la non ovo con[2] credo
atán dulçe e paladina;
mas la vuestra que es hazina*
desdonada de cepedo,
vos mirad como[3] la quedo
con mi linda artegrofía[4]*
fantassía:
vos tenéys en porfiar
con que[5] vos ssabrá armar
monterya*.

Johan Garçía, en Corverina
me tocastes del peñedo*,
yo non vaya a Hormizedo
e nin coma rraretyna[6]
sy non lanço en la peçina
vuestra barva e la engredo
en aqueste grant verguedo,
e vos corro la curuxía*
syn ffalsía;
pues non sabedes mostrar
desdonado en el chirlar,
ave ffrya.

Johan Garçía, de merdezina*
todo syenpre yo me arriedo*,
e non commo[7] afuer de gredo*
festes gordos por çeçina*
commo[8] vos, porque lo somía*;
rreyrán sy vos maçedo*,
pues mirad lo que troçedo*,
que desmedre el abadía
o ffralía
donde a vos podiessen dar,

---

[1] Mich: "tan credo".

[2] Pid, Az: "non".

[3] Mich: "commo".

[4] Mich: "arte grofia".

[5] Pid: "quien".

[6] Pid: "karetyna".

[7] Pid, Az: "como".

[8] Az: "como".

por arte denostar,
gran valya.

Johan Garçía, clavellyna[1]*
non se ffalla[2] en madroñedo*,
en xaras* nin en rrobredo,
ssalvo en rrama christalyna[3];
por ende pues se enrruyna
vuestra cara maxca* pedo:
el mi rryco narangedo
rresplandeçe todavía.
Bien serya
vos, don Nesçio, en çessar
el vuestro mal gorgear*
con ffolya.

Johan Garçía, arte ffyna
es la mía, pues ssuçedo
en mis dichos e rremedo
la de Yllescas[4] e más dina;
mas la vuestra capellyna
d'arte nesçia deme rryedo*,
e miralla luego fyedo*,
e aun tomo malenconía*:[5]
¡bía, vía,*
mangamaço[6]*, al colmenar
con los bueyes a buscar
quintería![7]*

---

[1] Mich: "el avellyna" instead of "clavellyna".

[2] Mich: "falla".

[3] Mich: "cristalyna".

[4] Pid: "Illescas".

[5] MS reads "...e miralla luego fyedo / e un tomo a un tomo mal / e aun tomo malenconia...". The second of the lines cited, i.e., "e un tomo a un tomo mal", is undoubtedly an erroneous transcription on the part of the scribe of the line that follows it. Like Mich and Az (the latter notes the corruption [III, 853n.]), we have omitted the corrupted line from the text. Pid did not realize the error, even despite the fact that it gives the strophe thirteen lines, one more than all the other strophes in the poem. In fact, Pid tried to give the line some meaning by correcting it to "e aun tomo, tomo mal".

[6] Mich: "manga maço".

[7] As Az observes, lines 71-72 appear as one line in the codex (III, 853n.).

{CB 393} Este dezir fizo e ordenó el dicho Jua*n* Alfon*so* de Baena com*m*o[1] a manera de discor contra el dicho Jua*n* Garçía de Vinuessa, por q*ua*nto non le rrespondió a ssu rreplicaçión postrymera ni*n* tanpoco el dicho Alfon*so* Alvarez e se fue de la corte; por lo qual ovo affear el dicho Jua*n* Alfonso al dicho J*ua*n Ga*rçía*.

(Fol. 139v)

<M>uy[2] alto rrey digno,
pues Villasandino
tomó su camino
e no*n* dio rrespuesta
segu*n*t que adevino,
e Juan su sobrino
quebró su molino
e yaze de cuesta.

Maguer la promesa
que fyzo muy gruesa
afuer de Vyn<uesa>[3]
de darme batalla,
presumo que çessa
su lyd e rrevessa[4],
pues veo ssu ffuesa[5]*
abierta syn ffalla[6].

Ca d'esta[7] lynda arte
él non sabe parte
ssegu*n*t lo departe
en ssus rrepullones,
mas por que sse ffarte[8]
el ssynple pillarte*

---

[1] *Az*: "como".

[2] MS reads "uy". *Mich*, like us, emended to "(M)uy". *Pid*, *Az*: "Muy", with no indication of emendation.

[3] *Az* notes erroneously that the MS reads "vynvensa" (III, 854n.). In fact, it reads "vyndensa", almost certainly a copyist's error. *Pid*: "Vynuesa"; *Mich*: "Vynuensa"; *Az*: "Vynvesa".

[4] *Az*: "reuesa".

[5] *Pid*, *Az*: "fuesa".

[6] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "falla".

[7] *Pid*: "d'sta".

[8] *Pid*: "farte".

de los de Cazarte
avrá rrepelones.

Por ende vos pido,
señor nobleçido,
muy alto temido,
que dedes ssente*n*çia
segunt lo pedido
por mí rressavido*,
pues queda vençido
en esta çiençia.

Con essto[1] assy fecho
ssyn otro sospecho
ffaredes derecho
e[2] grant rrealeza,
e luego barvecho*
mi lyndo petrecho[3]*
e golpe[4] en *e*l pecho
alguno que rreza.

Sy vos, el fermosso,
gentil e graçioso
e muy generoso[5],
me dades lyçençia,
ffaré un ffe<r>moso[6]
dezir deleytoso
e muy gassajosso[7]
a v*uest*ra excelençia.

Mas tengo rreçelo
del vyl Davihuelo[8]

---

[1] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "esto".

[2] *Pid*, *Az*: "a".

[3] *Mich*: "pe(r)trecho".

[4] MS reads *golpee* with the second "e" struck out by the copyist.

[5] *Pid*: "reveroso".

[6] *Mich* kept the MS reading of "ffemoso". *Pid*, *Az*: "ffermoso".

[7] *Mich*: "rassajosso".

[8] *Mich*: "Danihuelo".

. . . .[1]
que non sse me ensañe,
por quanto del çielo
ffaré a ssu mochuello[2]*
venir al señuelo*
por más que rregañe.

E d'esta porffía[3]
avrá noche e día
muy grant alegría
de vuestra[4] perssona,
a quien todavía
la Virgen Marya
le ande . . .[5]
e dé grant corona.

{CB 394} Este dezir fizo e ordenó Alvar Rruyz de Toro, escudero de Martyn Sanches de Palençuela, contra Juan Alfonso de Baena en rrespuesta del discor qu'el fyzo contra Juan Garçía de Vinuessa ssegunt que ante d'esto está puesto; e por quanto non rrespondió el dicho Juan Garçía, tomó su boz el dicho Alvar[6] Rruyz.

Señor, el estornino
que parla con el vino,
el torpe mesquino
después de la syesta,
en paño de lyno
enpresto[7]*, bien ffyno

---

[1] This hexasyllabic line is missing in the MS. *Pid* (448n.) and *Az* (III, 855n.) both make note of this, the latter observing that it should end in *-elo*. *Mich* leaves the line blank, but with no note as to why.

[2] *Mich*: "mochuelo".

[3] *Az*: "porfia".

[4] The abbreviation is "vrra" with a horizontal stroke over the double *r*. Nevertheless, we have chosen to follow all previous editors and resolve the abbreviation with one *r* as "vuestra".

[5] The remainder of this line is missing in the MS. *Pid* (448n.) and *Az* (III, 855n.) make a note of this. *Mich* ends the line in an ellipsis, but makes no note as to the blank in the MS. This hexasyllabic line, with three missing syllables, should end in *-ía* or *-ýa*.

[6] *Pid*: "Alvares".

[7] *Mich*: "enplasto".

de fojas de endryno
meresçía en la tiesta[1].

(Fol. 140r)
Mas nunca por essa
rrazón tan aviessa*,
pesada e espessa,
cuydas que se calla,
que ante la prioresa
o Venus diessa,
ssyquier la abadesa,
sabrán que desmalla.

El que non desparte*,
segunt diz Rrecharte,
mas ante rreparte
assaz de baldones,
por ende Duarte
tome ssu estandarte
e luego lo ensarte
en muchos varones.

E vos, rrey conplido,
de dones guarnido,
non ssea oydo
en vuestra[2] presençia,
que mucho ffallido[3]
él es e atrevido
después que ha comido
con poca paçiençia.

E yo bien lo assecho
al ssynple contrecho*,
sy non me da pecho
dyré ssu vileza
en plaza ssyn techo
do non aya provecho,
pues todo ssu fecho
ssale de synpleza.[4]

---

[1] *Pid*: "testa".

[2] See p. 122, n. 4.

[3] *Mich*: "fallido".

[4] In spoken Spanish, the first tonic would normally fall on the first syllable and not the second in the word *ssale* [ˈsale]. The accent in "Ssale" seems to be wrenched from the first to the second syllable, so that it might properly read "Ssalé" [saˈle] to conform to the amphibrachic dimetre of the poem.

Qu'él non es donosso,
rrey lyndo[1], vyrtuosso,
nin sabio engeñoso*
segunt ssu pressençia,
que faga sabroso
dezir nin honrrosso
a vos poderosso,
de mucha potençia.

E segunt que velo
el cara ssyn duelo
en rrezio arañuelo[2]*,
por bien que se estrañe
fazer en ahuelo*
que venga del suelo
nin aun ssu anzuelo
convién que sse dañe.

Si non le acorría[3]
vuestra señorya
bien sse que avría
mal golpe de azcona*,
e ssy a vos tenía
non tomo porffya
que rrezio mordía
el ffyjo de leona.

{CB 395} Este dezir fizo e ordenó el dicho Juan Alfonso de Baena contra el dicho Alvar[4] Rruyz de Toro en rreplicaçión de la rrespuesta que le dio al su discor primero, que por esta arte el dicho Juan Alfonso le fizo e por quanto el dicho Alvar Rruyz non rrespondió a esta rreplicaçión; por ende quedó el canpo por el dicho Juan Alfonso.

Muy alto benigno,
pues este cohino
está muy canino
e busca rrequesta,

---

[1] Anac: "lindo".

[2] Pid: "aranuelo".

[3] Az (III, 858n.) notes erroneously that Pid and Anac read "acoria". In fact, those editions give "accoria".

[4] Pid: "Alvares".

se<ñ>or[1], determino
ssy anda el malino*,
qu'el mi torbellino[2]
le dé mala fyesta.

Ca él sse confyessa
en lo que proçessa
por arte confessa
de las de Abravalla[3],
que lo pon* en priesa*
e mal lo rremessa*,
mi lengua profesa
por arte de talla.

(Fol. 140v)
Pues juro syn arte
al rrey Lysuarte
que luego lo encarte*
en pocos rrenglones,
e digo al picarte*
que yo les descarte[4]
con mi basalarte[5]*
su pixa* e cojones.[6]

Por ende rrebido*
qu'el vil rreloquido[7]
por lo rrespondido
avrá penitençia
por ser enfengido,
el nesçio adormido
que busca rruydo
con mucha femençia*.

Ca tengo despecho*
del vil contrafecho
que non guarda derecho

---

[1] MS reads "senor". Pid, Mich, Az: "señor", with no indication of emendation.

[2] Mich: "corbellino".

[3] Mich: "abravalla".

[4] Pid, Mich: "destarte".

[5] Az: "balasarte".

[6] In Pid, there is an ellipsis after "su", the editors having censored any reference to the genitalia and acts involving them.

[7] Pid: "enloquido".

en esso que rreza,
por ende desfe<c>ho[1]
syn otro cohecho*
al mango rrehecho*,
pues ora sse beza*.

Maguer el merdoso,
bermejo, rraposso,
e vil onbre astroso,
segunt mi creençia,
está muy gozosso
por ser bien meloso,
e es porfiosso[2]
con loca atrevençia.

Ca non vale un pelo
su dicho moçuelo
más fryo qu'el yelo
por más que lo apañe*,
e tiene grant çelo
de mí que lo assuelo
e rrasgo[3] su velo
segunt que sse tañe.

Señor más diría
de ssu asstrosía
e vyl poetría
en quanto rrazona,
mas yo non querrya
con esta ave fría
poner en valía
nin[4] rryca atahona*.

---

[1] MS reads "desfeho". Pid, Mich, Az: "desfecho", with no indication of emendation.

[2] The first two words of the next line, "con loca", appear at the end of this line. Thus, the MS reads "e es porfiosso con loca / con loca atrevençia". The "con loca" of this line has therefore been omitted.

[3] The copyist seems to have written "rrasga" at first and made a conscious effort at rounding out the tail of the final a to make it look like an o.

[4] Pid, Az: "mi".

{CB 396} Este dezir fizo e ordenó el dicho Alvar Rruys de Toro contra Juan Alfonso de Baena por lo rrequestar e affear*.

Manjar muy sabrosso de fyno alcuz[1]*
avréys, Johan Alfonso, de ffyenda* de vaca,
tanbién de la fruta que lança mi faca*
quiçá que non vistes más dulçe oroçuz*;
después a un perro fazer l'eys el buz*
debaxo del rrabo medio dedo e quarto:
convién vos notar esto que departo
e luego del todo saldredes a luz.

Con esto tomad, señor, de la puerta[2]
su linda ssymiente* gentyl e graçiosa,
la qual vos sana e muy provechosa[3]
sy vos la comedes ally quando estierca,
e mucho vos cunple estar bien açerca;
ssy amáys e querés la salud e vyda[4],
bevet tres pensantes* por una medida
que sean desleydos* con agua de alberca.

Será muy purgada en muy poco espaçio
la vuestra color amarylla e seca,
la qual yo[5] conosco de qué guisa peca
e faz que andés turbado, muy laçio*;
pessar non tomedes por que en el palaçio
ssepan la rreçepta de aqueste xarope:
conplidla, sseñor, por Dios non vos pope*
e luego del todo perderedes cansaçio[6].

Por aquesto, amigo, non quiero dinero:
tomadlo de mí en serviçio e graçia,
que non es maravilla la persona laçia*
magüer le aviséys commo a mercadero.

---

[1] Pid: "alcuscus".

[2] Pid, Az: "puerca".

[3] Az notes: "Gana el sentido del verso reemplazando vos por sera" (III, 861n.), a worthy suggestion, but too risky to introduce as an emendation.

[4] Pid: "vida".

[5] In the MS, the bottom third of the word "yo" is missing, although the pattern of the letters indicates that it is the proper reading. Pid, Az: "non" instead of "yo".

[6] This is obviously a case of forced rhyme. Az took the liberty of emending the word to "cansançio" without indicating the original reading of "cansaçio".

Agora vos cunple[1] estar plazentero
(Fol. 141r)
tornando rrespuesta mejor que otra vez;
sy passan las doss más negra que pez
sserá la terçera de vos escudero.

Fynida

E pues encarades como[2] vallestero,
devés esta cuerda soltar de la nuez,
ca non busco paz con vos nin Belmez[3]
salvando rreñilla[4] segunt el guerero[5].

{CB 397} Este dezir fizo e ordenó el dicho Juan Alfonso de Baena contra el dicho Alvar Rruyz de Toro en rrespuesta d'éste su feo e desdonado e frío dezir que contra él fizo commo[6] en manera de rrequesta contra él e los[7] otros trobadores; e por quanto el dicho Alvar Rruyz se fynge de sabio fue rrespondido d'esta guisa.

Pues garçones manguejones*
fablan ya en poetrya,
los[8] chançones e cançiones
pierden ya su melodía,
burlería e cazurrya*
rrebuelta con cagajones,
muy baldía, mucho fría

---

[1] *Pid*: "cumple".

[2] *Pid*: "como".

[3] *Mich*: "belmes".

[4] *Pid*: "rrennilla".

[5] *Pid*, *Az*: "guerrero".

[6] *Az*: "como".

[7] The definite article "los" is omitted in *Anac* and *Az*.

[8] *Az*: "las", claiming that the MS reading of *los* is erroneous (III, 862n.). "Chançón" may have acquired a masculine gender by assimilation to other words ending in *-ón*. It was, after all, a Gallicism and in French, *chanson* is feminine. Spanish words ending in *-ón*, on the other hand, are generally masculine and that suffix often has either an augmentative or pejorative connotation. Given the present context, the poet could be using the word "chançones" for humorous effect.

es la d'estos navajones
asnejones.[1]

Vos trobades mas limades
esto pazo*, buen pariente,
pues fablades frialdades
d'arte tosca*, non prudente;
ca Vyçente nin Llorente
non querrá[2], señor--sepades--
ser paçiente rrespondiente
a las vuestras nesçedades
que parlades.

Non valen xex[3]* nin un pujés[4]*
vuestros dichos alcuzeros[5]*,
e vuestro arnés con el pavés*
non rrehunde[6]* dos dineros;
pues venteros, mesoneros,
saben más en Guadalmez,
melcocheros*, pellegeros,
ya vos çurran el baldrés,*
manzilleros[7].

Fynida

El françés e el inglés
syenpre fueron muy guerreros,

---

[1] *Mich* divides the lines of all the strophes of this poem according to the internal rhymes. For example, the first strophe is transcribed in *Mich* as follows: "Pues garçones / manguejones / fablan ya en poetrya, / los chançones / é cançiones / pierden ya su melodia. / Burleria / é casurrya / rrebuelta con cagajones, / muy baldia, / mucho fria, / es la d'estos navajones, / asnejones" (II, 105).

[2] *Pid*, *Az*: "querran". We disagree with *Az* who says the MS reading of *querra* is erroneous (III, 863n.).

[3] *Pid*: "res"; *Az*: "rex". The latter notes *Pid*'s erroneous reading of *res* but mentions *Mich*'s transcription, i.e., the MS reading of *xex*, as erroneous too (III, 863n.).

[4] *Mich*: "pajes".

[5] *Pid*: "aleuseros".

[6] *Pid*: "rreunde".

[7] The word "manzilleros", also the last word of the "Fynida" is probably a mistake by the copyist (homoeoteleuton), whereby he lost his place in the copy, and having found the end of another strophe, most likely wrote that word in place of the correct one. "Manzilleros" is unquestionably very much out of place here, since it does not correspond to the rhyme-scheme of the poem and makes no sense in the context.

e de través el cordovés
fabla testos verdaderos,
manzilleros.

{CB 398} Este dezir fizo[1] e ordenó el dicho Alvar Rruyz de Toro contra Juan Alfonso de Baena por manera de rrequesta contra él e los otros trobadores; e por quanto fablando verdat, este su dezir es un poco mal doblado e peor lymado; por tanto fuele respondido por el dicho Juan Alfonso commo[2] aquí paresçe.[3]

Pues rrazones a mont<o>nes[4]
rreplicades todavya,
leçiones e quistiones
estudiar vos convenía;
cada día la po<r>fya[5]
nasçe en vuestros coraçones,
saberse-ya[6] todavya
quien bien faz sus repullones[7]
con ssazones.

---

[1] *Anac* omits the word "fizo" (or "fiso") from its edition, probably through carelessness.

[2] *Mich*: "como".

[3] There is a problem of authorial attribution to this poem. As Lang notes in his Foreword to the 1926 facsimile edition of the *Cancionero*, "The *decir* of Alvar Ruyz de Toro, which is referred to in the epigraph of this piece, seems to be lacking. What follows under no. 398 is a composition written by Juan Alfonso de Baena as a reply to it" (p. 6). *Az* suggests that the copyist erred and put Baena's name at the end, instead of Alvar Ruyz's. Furthermore, according to *Az*, the author of the poem--Alvar Ruyz--follows the rhyme-scheme and stanzaic pattern of the previous poem, which is written by Baena (III, 864n.). Because of this problem, the poem can be attributed neither to Alvar Ruyz nor to Juan Alfonso de Baena with any certainty. We have thus chosen *not* to count it among Juan Alfonso's compositions.

[4] MS reads "montenes". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "montones", with no indication of emendation.

[5] MS reads "pofya". *Mich* emends to "po(r)fya", like us. *Pid*, *Az*: "porfya", with no indication of emendation.

[6] This verb form is much like "fazer l'eys" in line 5 of *CB* 396. In this case, it appears to be a conditional which in modern Spanish would be written "se sabría". *Pid*: "saberse ya"; *Mich*: "saber seya"; *Az*: "saber se ya".

[7] *Pid*, *Az*: "rrepullones".

Rreplycades[1] e tratades
vuestros dichos gruesamente,
non curades[2] ni<n> tom<a>des[3]
otro alguno diligente
que pressente[4] de talente,
e diga en lo que errades
la açidente sy es absente
del umor[5] en que pecades
sy fablades.

En todo el mess dizen que es
vuestra justa cavalleros:
sé que avrés un grant revés
de algunos ventureros*
bien plazeros* e punteros*,
magüer non los conosçedes
escuderos plazenteros
en esta corte que ffazés
quando querrés.[6]

(Fol. 141v)

Ffynida[7]

Menester es que vos quexés
e seades pregoneros,
e luego avrés do non querrés
bien en breve, conpañeros,
ballesteros.

---

[1] Pid: "Replicades".

[2] Pid: "airades".

[3] MS reads "ni tomedes". Az, notes the reading of "tomedes" and disregards the reading of "ni", all the while giving "nin tomades" as the correct version (III, 864n.) Pid: "nin tomades", with no indication of emendation. Mich emends the phrase only in part to "ni(n) tomades" and does not indicate the original reading of "tomedes".

[4] Pid: "presente".

[5] Pid: "menor".

[6] Mich: "En esta corte ¿que ffases / quando querres?"

[7] Pid: "Finida"; Az: "Ffinida".

{CB 399} Pregunta de J*ua*n[1] Alfon*so* *con*t*ra* do*n* J*ua*n de Guzmá*n*.

Sseñor, Valentino diz que el papagayo
es más generoso *que* non gavilán,
asy vos, el noble e lyndo don Juan
soys más graçiosso *que* flor*e*s de mayo:
alegre bivades ssy*n* otro desmayo
e syenpre vos guarde la V*ir*ge*n*[2] María
por *que* floresca la v*uest*ra alegría
con alta exçelençia de muy alto rrayo.

Señor, yo leyendo en mi Cleme*n*tina,
fallé una dubda de gra*n*t sotileza,
por ende soplyco a[3] v*uest*ra nobleza
que la rremiredes por ser pelegrina,
e *que* leyendo la grant Pr*i*stolina[4]
me dedes notable famosa rrespu*e*st*a*
a una q*ui*stión d'yusso[5]* propuesta,
guarda*n*do las caussas de v*uest*ra A*n*brosin*a*[6].

Fynida

Señor, yo dema*n*do pregu*n*ta ferm*o*sa,
quál es mayor o más poderossa[7]:
voluntat o rrazón--soluçió*n* famosa--;
vos pido rrespuesta por le*n*gua ladin*a**.[8]

---

[1] *Mich*: "Johan".

[2] *Pid*: "Vergen".

[3] *Az*: "e" instead of "a".

[4] *Pid*, *Az*: "Prestolina"; *Mich*: "prestolyna". We have chosen to transcribe the word as "Pr*i*stolina" since the abbreviation stroke over the "r" is a vertical undulating line rather than a horizontal one. Such vertical markings usually indicate the omission of an *i* instead of an *e*.

[5] *Pid*: "de yusso".

[6] *Pid*, *Az*: "Ambrosina".

[7] *Az*: "poderosa".

[8] *Mich* punctuates this strophe as follows: "Señor yo demando pregunta fermosa: ¿qual es mayor, ó mas poderossa / voluntat ó rrason? Soluçion famosa / vos pido rrespuesta por lengua ladina."

{CB 400} Rrespuesta de don Juan de Guzmán.

Invençión dilecta a guyssa de gayo[1]
veo que se faze, segunt don Tristán,
en la grande floresta del noble rrey Ban;
poniendo los fechos segund Giamacayo[2],
diré rretrantando del salmista ayo[3]
que fustes ygual en sabiduría,
vos, noble amigo de grand poetría,
ca vuestra boz suena en desacayo*.

Amigo discreto, estimando[4] en digna[5]
palabra muy buena de grande profundeça,
fallé una diçión que, por ylideza*,
declarava en sy rrespuesta muy fyna
de vuestra pregunta muy clara e ayna*,
segund la palabra de cómmo[6] está puesta,
luego vos digo syn otra conpuesta
poniendo mis fechos en alta rregina.

Fynida

Amigo, rrespondo a la vuestra prossa
que más es potente voluntat rraygosa*,
que non la rrazón buena o dubdosa
segund que lo fallo en diçión benigna.

{CB 401} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso de Baena

Señor rreverente, sabet que me ensayo
más ha de año[7], ssegund vos dyrán,
contra vos, lyndo, gentil alimán*,

---

[1] *Mich*: "Gayo".

[2] *Pid*: "Garmacayo".

[3] *Mich*: "del Salmista, Ayo"; *Az*: "del Salmista ayo".

[4] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "estimado".

[5] *Az* notes (III, 867n.) that conformity with the rhyme-scheme would make the form *dina* more appropriate. However, medieval spelling was relatively unstable and the digraph *gn* may have been pronounced [n].

[6] *Az*: "como".

[7] *Pid*: "mas ha de un año".

de muy fynas armas e buen rroçín bayo[1];
ca çierto sepades que non só Pelayo,
mas só grande maestro de la geometría
e guardo los metros de la maestría,
e nunca me visto capote nin sayo.

Por ende rreplico que vuestra dotrina,
puesto que toca en alta proeza,
non satisfaze segund mi synpleça[2]
nin pone a mi dubda[3] sotil melezina;
por quanto, señor, jamás no<n>[4] s'enclyna
la rrecta[5] rrazón[6] notable, modesta,
a la voluntat e, de la rrequesta,
sostengo la[7] contra para Santa Rrofyna.

Fynida

Asy vos concluyo ser más generosa,
señor, la rrazón e más virtuosa,
que non voluntat captiva, e<n>gañosa[8],
en todos sus modos errada, festina*.

---

[1] At first glance, the MS appears to read "baxo". What the copyist originally wrote was "bajo", the j in the word being a "long i". Noting his error, he attempted a correction by crossing the j with a right-to-left diagonal stroke to make it look more like a y.

[2] Az: "sympleça".

[3] MS reads "dubdat", the version found in Mich. Az emends the word to read "dubda", with a note as to the original reading (III, 868n.). Pid has done the same, but fails to note the original reading.

[4] MS reads "no". Pid, Mich, Az: "non", with no indication of emendation.

[5] Az: "resta".

[6] Pid: "rrasson".

[7] Mich: "sostengola".

[8] MS reads "egañosa". Pid, Mich, Az: "engañosa", with no indication of emendation.

{CB 402} Rrespuesta de don Juan de Guzmán.[1]

(Fol. 142r)

Poeta muy sabio, sabet que bien cayo*
en vuestras palabras ssegund cómmo van,
que non aprehendistes en el Lybyán[2]
segunt las rrazones del vuestro fargayo*;
çierto sseades ssegund cahe el rrayo
de rrygyón alta a profundaría[3]*,
assy fallo yo en la polondarýa*
que fustes errado a guis de cañayo*.

E ***modo narrabo***[4]* de palabra judi<n>a[5]
que vos, dotorado de grant rrealeza,
posistes a omme[6] que syenpre la rreza
en lengua muy noble, la qual es latina,
rreplicando yerro, el qual s'estermina*,
fablar generossa, bolvervos de cuesta
non temiendo quistión d'iusso* propuesta,
que primera fezistes en lengua divina.

---

[1] Az obviously used the Hispanic Society of America's facsimile edition as the basis for his transcription, since he notes that this rubric appears at the end of fol. 141v, after which a blank folio has been inserted (III, 868n.). The blank folio to which he refers is inserted between folios 141 and 142 in the 1926 facsimile and has no bearing on foliation, although it has led to significant confusion. For more information on this topic, see our discussion of the 1926 facsimile edition in our preliminary chapters.

[2] Mich: "lybyan".

[3] Pid: "aprofundaria".

[4] Mich does not italicize "modo narrabo", perhaps not recognizing the Latin. Pid, on the other hand, italicizes the "e", possibly taking it for the contraction of "ex".

[5] The MS very clearly reads "judja" as Mich shows: "de palabra judia", and not "indina" as Pid and Az show. Despite Azáceta's acknowledgement of the original reading, he persisted in giving indina in his edition (III, 869n.). The rhyme-scheme does indeed demand that this line end in -ina. For that reason, we have transcribed "judi<n>a", a word known at the time of composition, but we note the possibility that the copyist may have misread his original: he could have thought he was copying "judia" when in fact he was copying "jndja" with a tilde over the second j to show the omitted n.

[6] Mich: "ombre"; Az: "ome".

Ffynida[1]

E digo evidente que más alta cosa
fazen los ommes[2] con voluntad pensosa,
que non con rrazón buena o cuydosa
por qu'es potençial mas vulla canina[3].*

{CB 403} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

Señor muy graçioso, açerca el[4] Dagayo[5]
está su morada del grant capitán
llamado por no<n>bre[6] miçer Julián,
e non Pero Gil nin don Pero Gayo,
del qual encontrastes un poco en soslayo[7];
por ende rrenditvos de vuestra porfya,
e sy non, juro por santa Mençía
que yo vos enbíe allende Moncayo.

Señor, a lo otro de la deçeplina
por vos a mí dada[8] con mucha crueza,
con vara nudossa de verde corteza
dura, muy fuerte, labrada en esquina:
señor, nunca coma capón nin gallina,
puesto que aya por vos mala fyesta

---

[1] *Pid*: "Fynida".

[2] *Mich*: "ombres"; *Pid*: "omes".

[3] *Pid*, *Az*: "mas vul la canina"; *Mich*: "mas que la canina". *Pid* suggests that "En el último verso, donde dice *vul*, parece deberá leerse *val*" (p. 686, n. CCXXX). The poet may wish to say that although "razón" is "buena o cuydosa", and thus "potençial", it is "también bulla canina", i.e., since the various interpretations to which it is open may seem to the mind like a pack of howling dogs. Still, this is conjecture, since the scribe seems to have corrupted the verse in his transcription.

[4] MS reads "el". *Anac*, *Az*: "del".

[5] *Mich*: "dagayo".

[6] MS reads "nobre", the version found in *Pid* and *Az*. *Mich* emends to "no(m)bre". We have transcribed "no<n>bre" since, as a rule, the *n* (apico-dental nasal) preceded voiced and voiceless bilabial plosives in 15th-century written Castilian (whether it was pronounced [n] in the spoken language is another matter altogether).

[7] *Pid*: "en sosayo"; *Mich*: "ensoscayo".

[8] *Mich*: "amidada".

sy rryjo mi vara gentil[1], muy enfyesta*,
sy non, vos rrebato* la grant[2] capellina.

Ffynida[3]

Ca veo vuestra arte que va muy viçiossa[4],
e non satisfaze nin es valyossa
a mi pregunta de cándida* rrossa
e flor muy oliente que ssal* del espina.

{CB 404} Rrespuesta de Juan de Guzmán.

Amigo discreto, por vuestro dislayo*
sabed que m'arrayo* de grant jazarán*,
e corta[5] muy fuerte commo piedra ymán
non temiendo nada a ningu<n>t[6] lacayo;
ca só çierto bien por el vuestro[7] alfayo*
que soys muy discreto en escrivanía
de tajar la péndola*, mas de notomía*
non vos trabajedes trobar de Tamayo[8].

Señor, non manjedes manjar d'adefyna[9]*,
el qual gostaredes con grand amargueça,
por el qual sabor avrés grant pereza
de non rreplicar el dicho de Dyna[10];
e sy rreplicades muy amarga endrina*,
vos juro e prometo de darvos conpuesta[11]

---

[1] *Pid*, *Az*: "gentyl".

[2] *Pid*: "gran".

[3] *Pid*: "Fynida".

[4] *Pid*: "viçiosa".

[5] *Pid*: "cotta".

[6] MS reads "ningut". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "ningunt", with no indication of emendation.

[7] MS reads "vrro" with a horizontal stroke over the double *r*. See p. 122, footnote 4.

[8] *Mich*: "Tamayo".

[9] *Mich*: "dadefyna".

[10] *Mich*: "dyna".

[11] *Az*: "compuesta".

con tal confaçión c'os lieve[1]* de cuesta,
segunt lieva el viento a la golondrina[2].

Fynida

Por ende, señor, non sea golossa
la vuestra palabra muy paladynosa,
ca voluntad syenpre es más grandiosa
que non es rrazón por santa Rrufina[3].

{CB 405} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

Señor exçelente, comigo[4] me trayo
armas gentiles de las de Milán
e mis sobrevistas de buen zarzaán*,
ca non me la dio don Çagel Çidayo[5],
e pues que sabedes que otros enbayo
por arte gentil de la estremonía*
e puntos e çercos de la jumençía*,
mirad sotilmente como[6] vos rretrayo.

(Fol. 142v)
Señor, yo comí salmón e corvina
e otros pescados de grant gentileza,
enpero sepades que pez de vileza
nunca jamás entró en mi cozina;
por ende, señor, metet en vayna
la vuestra esspada que está mucho inesta[7]*,
sy non, la batalla vos es mucho presta
por ver consonantes quién[8] más lo<s>[9] afyna.

---

[1] The MS gives the problematic reading of "coslieue". The use of "ca" here may be an archaism: *ca* (elided) may be used as an enunciative rather than a causal relative, meaning *pues* (cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. hist.*, §30.2, §130). It is also quite possible that the scribe wrote "*c*" instead of "*qu*" since they would be pronounced the same in this case.

[2] MS reads "glolondrina", the version found in *Pid*. *Mich*, *Az*: "golondrina", with no indication of emendation.

[3] *Mich*: "Reufina".

[4] *Anac*: "conmigo".

[5] *Mich*: "çidayo".

[6] *Pid*: "commo".

[7] *Mich*: "mesta".

[8] *Mich*: "que".

Fynida[1]

Señor, yo sostengo por testo e glossa
qu'es la rrazón muy más copiossa,
que non voluntat, pues es cabtelosa*
e santo Agostyn assy determina.

{CB 406} Rrespuesta <de>[2] don Juan de Guzmán.

Señor, yo vos juro por el san Macayo
que tenga más fuerte qu'el diamán*
aquesta conquista, segunt me verán
los que saben algo del noble çentrayo*;
por lo qual bien creo que yo non descayo*
de sus nobles puntos de . . .[3]
e sy non, veredes por ygromançía[4]*
cómmo[5] vos rreduze en guis de galayo*.

Castigarvos he con una estornina,
amigo muy noble, de gran ligereza,
porque tenedes que avéys grant rriqueza
de los consonantes que son de tenina*;
por ende co<n>bredes[6]* esta guarentyna*
que vos confaçiono con mucha degesta[7]*,
ca dígovos çierto por alta magesta*
de vos sofysmar con mi escofyna*.

---

[9](...continued)
[9] MS reads "lo". *Pid* is the only previous edition to have given "los", but without a note as to the original reading. *Mich*, *Az*: "lo".

[1] *Pid*: "Finida".

[2] MS reads "Respuesta don juan de guzman". *Pid*, *Mich*, and *Az* all added the preposition "de" without noting its absence in the codex.

[3] Five syllables of this dodecasyllabic line are missing in the codex, as noted in all previous editions of the *Cancionero*. The line should end in *-ía*. Given the context of this line, in which the word "ygromançía" appears in the following line (see our commentary on that word in the Lexicographical Notes), Dr. José Varela of the University of Alberta suggests, aptly enough, that a "dangerous" word, relating to black magic, may have been suppressed here by the copyist.

[4] *Pid*: "ygromancia".

[5] *Az*: "como".

[6] MS reads "cobredes", the version found in *Mich* and *Az*. *Pid*: "conbredes", with no indication of the original reading.

[7] *Pid*, *Az*: "con mucha de gresta".

Fynida

Por ende, señor, es tenebregosa
la vuestra quistión assy rregurosa,
ca todo syenpre es más generosa
la voluntad rrecta, ssegunt Clavellina.

{CB 407} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

Señor venerable, yo non só çobayo*,
nin moro nin e<l>che[1]*, tanpoco farfán[2],*
nin creo en Mahomat nin creo al Çatán
que tiene por arco la puente San Payo[3];
por ende non creo, mas antes lo rrayo,
vuestros consonantes que non van por vía,
pues van todos ellos por algaravía*
que tal non se dixo en todo langayo*.

Señor, el castygo con palo d'e<n>zina[4]
non me paresçe[5] que es rrealeza,
segunt escreviste, pues tiene<n>[6] firmeza
las mis concordanças sacadas por mina;
por ende prometo a los de Medina
enantes que venga Sant Juan de Floresta,
que vos conoscades que es manifyesta[7]
mi alta opiñón[8] e más paladina*.

---

[1] MS reads "eche", as do *Mich* and *Az*. *Pid*, on the other hand, gives "elche", undoubtedly a more accurate reading, but does indicate his emendation. Carré Aldao, in his chapter entitled "Juan Alfonso de Baena no fué judío", states that "elche" is a pejorative term meaning "apóstata" or "renegado" (262n.). Corominas gives a similar definition of the word: "'cristiano renegado que se hace mahometano', del ár. *ʿilǧ* 'extranjero no mahometano'..." (II: 219).

[2] *Pid*, *Az*: "Farfan".

[3] *Mich*: "Sanpayo".

[4] MS reads "dezina". *Pid*: "densina"; *Mich*: "d'esina"; *Az*: "d'ensina".

[5] *Pid*: "pareçe".

[6] MS reads "tiene". *Mich* shows the emendation: "tiene(n)"; *Az*: "tienen", with a note as to the original reading (III, 873n.). *Pid*: "tienen", with no indication of emendation.

[7] *Pid*: "manifesta"; *Anac*: "manifiesta".

[8] *Pid*, *Az*: "opinion".

Fynida

Ca digo e porfío que he por esposa
la justa rrazón cortés, amorossa,
e non me faredes dezir otra cossa
magüer me fagades echar en çencina[1]*.

{CB 408} Rrespuesta de don Juan de Guzmán.

Poeta muy noble más que Sagitario[2],
aprehendervos ove muy llano de plan
por los consonantes que son con afán
a mí presentados por vuestro mundayo*;
por ende rrendidvos e comed calmayo*,
que es un pescado de los de Luzía[3],
para aclarar la vysta querrya,
que assy lo dispone el buen Luçidayo[4].

Dígovos çierto por los de Molina
que soys concluydo, sseñor, d'asper<e>ça[5]*,
ca çierto vos digo por la mi rrueza*
que tomastes cosa amarga, sardina;
este consonante con pez de rresyna*
s'os pegue[6]* a la lengua, pues de mal jesta
non sabéys trobar; mi noble ballesta
cruel vos firió con arma vezina.

Fynida

Demando por juez que tiene espaçiosa
rretórica alta e muy lybydossa*,

---

[1] MS reads "çenciana". Pid, Mich, Az: "çençina", with no indication of emendation.

[2] Mich: "sagitario".

[3] Pid, Az: "de los que Lusia".

[4] Az: "Luçidaryo".

[5] MS reads "dasperaça". Pid, Az: "despereça"; Mich: "sseñor d'Asperaça".

[6] The verbal phrase "s'os pegue" is hardly a common form in the early 1400s, "os" only beginning to predominate late in the 15th century (Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática histórica*, §94.1). Still, this is the second time that we see this form "os" in a poem by Juan de Guzmán ("c'os lieve", CB 404, l. 15). It is quite plausible, therefore, to suspect that Guzmán was from a region of the Iberian Peninsula where the form "os" was beginning to take precedence over "vos".

a Martyn Alfonso, assy bien vystosa,
e dé la setençia[1], assy turbia peçina[2].

{CB 409} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso de Baena

Señor, yo me tengo por nesçio picayo*,
pues me sonastes asy el cordová<n>[3]*,
lo qual non querrya por un balandrán*
de fynas bruçelas* de las de Çapayo;
por ende meresco vestir capassayo
sy fuere fallada tan grant villanía,
que fyz consonante qual yo non devía,
ca Dios sabe d'ello quanto m'atalayo[4]*.

(Fol. 143r)
El rrey e la rreyna doña Catalina
la vuestra persona suban en alteza,
e Dios e la Virgen vos den fortaleza
e syenpre vos cubran con su mantellina;
a vuestra persona discreta e benigna
le pido merçed la qual sserá éssta[5],
que non rrespondades por carta[6] más d'ésta
en tal que vos vea sseñor de Merlina.

Ffynida[7]

Señor, la fynida vyno muy dubdosa
sy es el alcalde o de Peñalossa,
o de Vyllaseca o de Ffynistrossa,
ca yo non entiendo la tal salvagina*.

---

[1] We have kept to the MS reading of "setençia", as in the rubric and line 8 of CB 377 and in the rubric of CB 422. Mich emended the word to "se(n)tençia". Pid, Az: "sentençia", with no indication of emendation.

[2] The MS reads "peçiana", the transcription found in Mich. Az makes a note of the original reading (III, 875n.), but has emended it, like us, to "peçina". Pid: "peçina", with no indication of emendation.

[3] MS reads "cordouaz". Pid, Mich: "cordovan"; Az: "cordouan", with no indication of emendation.

[4] Mich: "matalayo".

[5] Pid, Az: "esta".

[6] Mich: "causa".

[7] Pid: "Fynida".

{CB 410} Aq*uí* se rrindió e dio por vençido[1] don Juan de Guzmán de J*ua*n A*lfonso* de Baen*a*.

Maestro[2] illustrante[3], a vos plega çito[4]
de querer que ssea él de grant onor,
juez ssapiente e noble señor
de Montemayor el qual es muy rrico[5],
Martín Alfonso, que ssea lybico[6]*
e dé la sentençia muy clara, bie*n* fecha:
entre vos e mí, por alguna secha*,
tomat açessor por non sser amito*.

{CB 411} Rrespuesta *que* dio Jua*n* Alfon*so* de Baena a esta copla que contra el fyzo el d*ic*ho don Jua*n* de Guzmán, hermano del señor conde de Niebla, por fynal co*n*clusyó*n*.

Señor enperante, turbáys mi esp*i*rito
mandando que tome el tal judgador
de[7] q*ua*l he[8] rreçelo e muy grant temor
q*ue* luego me lançe ffondo del garlyto*;
por én soplico al noble, bendito,
ssu prymo, el alcallde, el q*ua*l sye*npre*[9] asecha
tener la justiçia muy justa e derecha
al grande, al rryco, tanbién al chiq*ui*to.

Pero q*ue* protesto con muy bivo g*ri*to
sy es el muy noble de alto valor

---

[1] *Pid*, *Az*: "vencido".

[2] *Pid*, *Az*: "Maestre".

[3] MS reads "illustãnte" with a redundant abbreviation stroke representing an *ra* over the "a" that should have been suppressed, such that the abbreviation should resolve itself as "illustraante". *Pid*, *Mich*, and *Az* all transcribed "illustrante", with no note as to the original reading in the codex.

[4] *Mich*: "plegaçito".

[5] *Mich*: "rico".

[6] *Pid*: "lylico".

[7] *Pid*, *Az*: "del".

[8] The word "he" is repeated twice in the MS, no doubt being a copyist's oversight.

[9] *Az*: "syempre".

señor de Alcabdete, Montemayor;[1]
pongo en él dubda, señor, por escripto
e de la rrequesta afuera me quito,
por quanto tengo en él tal sospecha
que sy me tyra con su rryca flecha
nunca por miedo errará del ffyto*.

El honrrado e noble cavallero Martyn Alfonso de Montemayor e señor de la villa de Alcabdete, seyendo por él bien visto todo este proçesso, determinó e dixo que dava la ventaja e mejoría a Juan Alfonso de Baena, assy en la quistión commo[2] en el arte, e que condenava al dicho don Juan de Guzmán en las cosstas.

---

[1] The first three lines of this strophe are enclosed in question marks in Mich.

[2] Az: "como".

{CB 412} Pregunta que fyzo Juan Alfonso de Baena contra Alvaro de Cañizales[1].

Pregunta sotyl e muy rredutable*
por mí será fecha con[2] grant rreverençia
a vos Cañizales[3], en esta çiençia
çyente profundo, doctor venerable,
enviso, prudente, gentyl, amigable,
en todos sus modos cortés, mesurado:
quered por nobleza, señor graduado,
de dar rresponsiva rreal, onorable.

Señor, yo pregunto en breves rrazones
--mirad lo que digo en claro[4] lenguaje--
un omme[5] fydalgo de alto linaje,
de padre e madre de altas nasçiones*,
que syenpre usasse de seys condiçiones,
las tres nobleçidas, onrrosas, mejores,
e tres fallesçidas, astrosas, peores:
que quáles serían me dat salvaçiones[6]*.

Fynida

E para absolver las nuestras quistiones
tomo por juez a<l> lyndo[7], amoroso,
gentyl e fydalgo, sotyl, generoso
Ferrant Manuel con sus distynçiones.

---

[1] *Pid*: "Cañinsales".

[2] In the MS, the word "con" appears in superscript above the "g" of "grant".

[3] *Pid*: "Cañinsales".

[4] The MS reads "claro", but it seems apparent that the copyist originally wrote "clara", before rounding out the tail of the *a* to make it look more like *o*. *Pid*, *Az*: "clara".

[5] *Mich*: "ombre".

[6] *Mich* encloses this final line in question marks. *Pid*: "soluçiones". *Az* observes that *Pid*'s reading appears to be "más elevado" (III, 878n.).

[7] MS reads "alyndo", which *Mich* transcribed as "a lyndo". *Pid*, *Az*: "al lyndo", the latter indicating the original reading (III, 878n.).

{CB 413} Rrespuesta que dio Alvaro de Cañizares[1].

Yllustrado[2], perfeto, maestro notable,
discreto, constante, de alta prudençia,
non só entreduto* en tal sapiençia
que distynguyr pueda juyzio palpable;
mas pues vos, señor, mandades que fable
a mi çiençia fallydo, menguado,
la mi opin<i>ón[3] distyngo[4] de grado
he miedo su yerno[5], el juez ynmudable[6].

(Fol. 143v)

Señor, entendidas las[7] vuestras cançiones,
en breve respondo al vuestro mensaje:
qualquier fidalgo gentyl de paraje[8]
deve ser largo en todos sus dones,
leal, esforçado, ssyn contradiçiones;
mentir e refertar*, grandes errores,
e mal rrazonar de buenos señores
que son muy esquivas abominaçiones.

Fynida

Al por vos eleto de dominaçiones,
de juez comissario por ser generoso,
justo, grant sabio, poeta famosso,
jurista muy dino de consolaçiones.

{CB 414} Este dezir fyzo e ordenó Juan Alfonso de Baena contra Alvaro de Cañizares[9] commo en manera de rrequirimiento[1] que le fazía que estoviese aperçebido para le rresponder a otras preguntas que a él e a otros querrya fazer.

---

[1] Pid: "Cañinsares".

[2] Pid, Az: "Illustrado".

[3] MS reads "opinon". Mich: "opiñon"; Pid, Az: "opinion", with no indication of emendation.

[4] Pid: "distingo".

[5] Mich: "yerro".

[6] Mich: "ymudable".

[7] Mich: "la(s)", emended unnecessarily.

[8] Mich puts "de paraje" in apposition as though it is a separate trait from "gentyl" and not a modifier of it.

[9] Pid: "Cañinsares".

Señor Cañizares[2], yo mucho querría[3]
con vos algunt día entrar en rrequesta
e de una dubda aver ssu rrespuesta
de vos nobleçido con grant cortesía;
mas jura vos fago por santa María
que piensso[4] en ello ffazer vos enojo,
pero sy vos plaze fazedme del ojo
e luego veredes mi grant valentía.

Fynida

E porque entyendo sotil preguntar,
las armas e cotas mandat alinpiar[5]
e lyndas palabras para rreplicar,
por que tomedes solaz e alegrya.

{CB 415} Pregunta de Juan Alfonso contra Cañizares[6].

Pues vos tenéys por grant papagayo
en esta çiençia, señor Cañizares[7]:
dadme rrespuesta syn falta d'azares
que syenpre[8] bivades syn otro desmayo;
ca çierto sepades, señor, que m'enssayo
por darvos jugando un golpe de xaque*,
por ende vos cunple armarvos de jaque*
ca, segunt creo, convusco es el rrayo.

Señor, un fydalgo que ha nonbre[9] Payo
me dixo rriendo que dos escolares

---

[1] Mich: "rreqüerimiento".

[2] Pid: "Cañinsares".

[3] Pid: "querrya".

[4] Pid: "pienso".

[5] Mich: "á linpiar"; Az: "alimpiar".

[6] Pid: "Cañinsares".

[7] Pid: "Cannisares".

[8] Az: "syempre".

[9] Az: "nombre".

a mucho tienpo que sufren pessares
de otro escudero que dizen Pelayo,
que trae un rroçín asy commo[1] vayo*,
porque les pide rrazón con achaque*,
e porque paresçe quistión de almadraque*:
das[2] rresponsyva syn mescla de ayo[3].*

Fynida

¿Qual gentyl onbre farié mejor guisa:
quien su amiga toviere en camissa
o toda desnuda e[4] cuerpo muy lysa?
E dóvos de plazo abril con el mayo.*

{CB 416} Rrespuesta de Alvaro de Cañizares.[5]

Amigo señor, yo non visto sayo
de gloria tan vana e lieves pesares,
ante me pongo en baxos pylares
con poco saber que comigo trayo;
pero con rrazón, sseñor, vos rretrayo*
al vuestro falsete* mal juego de escaque*,
e sy d'esta lucha levades un baque*
a mí non culpedes, don muy lindo Gayo.

Non sé sy es de los de Agayo[6],
o sy tyene debdo con los de Linares
aquese fydalgo de grandes solares
que fyzo pregunta de alto pycayo*;
mas yo, commo[7] synple e rrudo lacayo,
le dó mi rrespuesta en buen altabaque*
e non de prestado nin misto çumaque*,
ca non vó pedir lo de Moncayo.

---

[1] *Pid*, *Az*: "como".

[2] *Pid*: "Dis".

[3] *Mich*: "Ayo".

[4] *Pid*, *Az*: "en".

[5] This rubric is accidentally omitted in *Pid* and *Anac*.

[6] *Pid*: "Ayayo".

[7] *Az*: "como".

Fynida

Mi flaco juyzio, sseñor, vos devisa
que non la querades en juego nin rrysa[1],
con rropa ninguna, magüer sea envisa*,
ca yo con[2] synpleza en esto[3] me cayo*.

{CB 417} Rrequesta de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

Pues que la flor de toda Castylla
del arte graçiossa de la poetría
está derrama<ndo>[4] su grant maestrya
dentro en Yllescas[5] e d<a>llá[6] en Sevilla;
por esto la corte está muy sençilla
de ommes[7] sotiles en esta çiençia,
enpero ternía*, segunt es[8] mi creençia,
que otros quedaron en esta <grand>[9] villa.

---

[1] *Pid*: "ssysa".

[2] The word "con" is not found in *Mich*.

[3] *Mich*: "este".

[4] MS reads "derrama", the version transcribed by *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*. We have emended the reading to "derrama<ndo>" since it makes perfect sense in the context and is consistent with the scansion. With "derrama" the line is hendecasyllabic (and nonsensical), while the amphibrachic metre calls for a dodecasyllabic line. This is the same emendation proposed by Lang, who noted this irregularity in his foreword (p.3). *Az* also mentions Lang's comments (III, 882n.).

[5] *Pid*, *Az*: "Illescas".

[6] The MS reads "della". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "d'ella". We have chosen to emend it to "dallá", a word also found in *CB* 361, l. 2, "o del Açuayca dallá de Sevilla".

[7] *Mich*: "ombres".

[8] *Az* omits the word "es".

[9] MS reads "grande", as do all previous printed editions. We have emended to "grand" since "grande" corrupts the metre of the poem with the addition of one extra syllable in the line.

(Fol. 145r)
{CB 417bis} Fynida[1]

Por ende, señores, en esto porfyo,
a todos tres juntos yo vos desafyo,
e más que sepades que todo me rryo
de commo[2] vos fago tomar torozón*,
e mucho desmayo en el coraçón.

{CB 418} Rrespuesta del mariscal Yñigo de Astúñiga.

Señor, buen frontero*, lengua de Sansón,
ardid commo lyebre entre las lançadas[3]
corrydo por fuerça a berengenadas*
d'aquesa frontera de cabe* Morón;
mas yo nunca cobré el vuestro amoryo*
sy vos non fago foder* a un judío[4],
que estedes tan lleno[5] del su rregadío*
que vos quite todo del rrabo el xabón
con que vos criaron allende chiquillo*.

Fynida

En tierra caliente nasçistes tan fryo
que avedes elado todo nuestro estyo,

---

[1] This "finida" does not belong to the preceding poem, since there is a missing folio, number 144, which undoubtedly contains the beginning of the debate between Baena and the Mariscales. *Mich* noticed the absence of this folio as well (II, 117n.). Due to its unfortunate absence, there are up to eight poems that may have been forever lost, some belonging to Juan Alfonso de Baena. If we take into account the fact that the composition in question figures among the main body of the compiler's poetic works, there are two factors that allow us to state with virtual certainty that this "finida", the only remaining fragment of a poem, can be attributed to him: 1) the one following it is by the Mariscal Yñigo de Astúñiga in reply to the preceding one, whose author is not specified (although it is probably by Baena); and 2) the poem following Astúñiga's reply is a complaint by Baena made to the Condestable Alvaro de Luna, expressing dissatisfaction presumably with his rival's answer to the extant fragment. For these reasons we have retained *Az*'s numbering of "417*bis*".

[2] *Az*: "como".

[3] *Pid*, *Az*: "laçadas".

[4] *Pid*, in accordance with nineteenth-century mores, omits what Azáceta calls the "palabra grosera"--*foder*--and replaces it with a five-dot ellipsis (III, 883n.). Also in *Pid*, "a un judio" is transcribed as "d'un judio".

[5] There is an unnecessary tilde over the "o" of *lleno*, which leads to the transcription of "llenno" in *Mich*.

e segunt que dize agora Amayo[1]
que magüer es tienpo de andar en jubón,
por vos non ossa dex<ar>[2] el mantón.

{CB 419} El dicho Juan Alfonso de Baena se quexó a Alvaro de Luna de los mariscales.

Alvaro de Luna, yo só muy pensante
por qué emaginan los doss maryscales
que dan çipotada* en mis atabales*,
tanbién[3] el terçero segunt el senbla<n>te[4];
pero sy el rrey de grant fermosura[5]
a todos noss tyene la plaça segura,
yo vos prometo--creedlo por jura--[6]
que commo[7] sarmientos so tierra[8] los plante.

Fynida

Por ende, señor, ayamos un juez
que sepa muy bien jugar el axedrez,
por que conosca quien guarda Belmez[9]
e fable lymado syn mal consonante.

---

[1] After the "o" of "Amayo" there is another inscription that may be a highly stylized "r" or perhaps a stylized abbreviation stroke. Since it defies interpretation, we have followed *Pid*, *Mich*, and *Az* in transcribing the word as "Amayo", knowing full well at the same time that this does not fit with the AAABB rhyme-scheme of the "finida".

[2] MS reads "dex". We agree with the emendation found in *Mich*: "dex(ar)". *Pid*, *Az*: "dexar", with no indication of emendation.

[3] *Az*: "tambien".

[4] MS reads "senblate". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "senblante", with no indication of emendation.

[5] *Pid*, *Az*: "fermossura".

[6] The phrase "creedlo por jura" seems to be an aside or a parenthesis on the part of the poet. Modern usage of punctuation tends to dictate that such parentheses be separated from the text typographically by double hyphens or one single long hyphen. *Pid*, *Mich*, and *Az* separated it from the text with commas.

[7] *Mich*, *Az*: "como".

[8] *Mich*: "terra".

[9] *Pid*: "guarda a Belmes"; *Mich*: 'guarda belmes'; *Az*: 'guarda Belmes'.

{CB 420} Petición de Juan Alfonso de Baena al señor rrey que le diesse seguro juez.

Señor alto, generosso,
otorgatme segurança
commo[1] rrey muy poderosso[2]
en quien tengo grant fyança,
del que lança bien su lança
syn errança con lindeça,
vuestra alteza, rrealeza,
gentileza sy lo alcança,
por folgança sea balança.[3]

Señor alto, muy graçioso,
por tomar grant alegrança
commo rrey mucho fermoso,
contenplat[4] mi ordenança
del que dança con privança,
esperança con fyrmeza,
agudeza e ssotyleza,
delgadeza e buen andança
es provanza syn dudança.

Fynida

Syn braveza nin crueza,
con nobleza syn venganza,
do él rreza con synpleza[5],
pues se leza[6]* perdonanza.

Rrespondió el sseñor rrey que Su Merçed avía visto todo lo proçesado ante d'esto, assý la rrequesta como las rrespuestas e rreplicaçiones, e por ende que mandava a Pero López de Ayala que fuesse juez entre todos ellos.[1]

---

[1] *Az*: "como".

[2] The third syllable of "poderosso", "-ro-", appears in superscript in the MS.

[3] As in other poems containing internal rhyme, *Mich* strays from the manuscript's presentation of the stanzaic structure. The first strophe can be used as the example to illustrate the pattern followed by the second strophe and the *finida*: "Señor alto, generosso, / otorgatme segurança, / commo rey muy poderoso / en quien tengo grant fyança. / Del que lança / bien su lança, / syn errança, / con lindeça, / vuestra altesa , / realesa, / gentilesa, / sy lo alcança, / por folgança / sea balança" (II, 118).

[4] *Pid*, *Az*: "contemplat".

[5] *Mich*, *Az*: "symplesa".

[6] *Mich*: "selesa".

{CB 421} Pues al muy alto rrey de Castilla
sseñor Pero López le plaze de grado,
e manda e quiere que este judgado
vos lo tomedes syn otra rrenzilla[2]*,
yo commo[3] omme[4] que ssoy su fechura,
e quiere que tome plazer e folgura*:
consyento de grado con mucha mesura[5]
en vuestra sentençia doblada o ssenzilla.

E pues assy es cortés, muy onesto,
e muy avissado en todos los fechos,
conplid su mandado e más los derechos
que ponen los libros de Chino e Digesto,
(Fol. 145v)
que todo pro<ç>esso[6] que es bien ordenado
aver deve juez sotyl e avissado,
e luego el actor e más demanda<do>[7],
e buenos notarios ffundados en testo.

Por ende, señor, con mucha femençia*
yo vos rrequiero por ante notaryo[8],
que luego veades el fecho sumario

---

[1] Az numbers this prose fragment as "420bis" in his edition. We have chosen to place it after CB 420 without Azáceta's numbering. It is merely Baena's relation of the King's decision concerning who should declare the victor of this poetic tourney. The following poem, CB 421, has no author ascribed to it, but we can be fairly certain that it was composed by Juan Alfonso de Baena. Lang also attributed it to Baena arguing as follows: "No. 421, f144, a piece announcing in the name of the King a decision in a poetic debate, is in the midst of compositions by Juan Alfonso de Baena, the royal scribe, and is therefore most likely by him" (Foreword, p. 15).

[2] Pid: "mansilla".

[3] Az: "como".

[4] Mich: "ombre".

[5] Pid: "mensura".

[6] MS reads "proesso". Pid: "processo", Mich, Az: "proçesso", with no indication of emendation. We have chosen to emend with "ç" in pointed brackets since the redundant cedilla was still prevalent at the time of the writing of the MS.

[7] MS reads "demandandolo". Pid, Mich, Az: "demandado". Only Az noted the original reading (III, 887n.).

[8] Pid: "nontaryo".

e dedes en breve la vuestra sentençia
en que rrezedes aquestos tres puntos:
que los maryscales e Alvaro juntos
vengan o enbíen tomar los trasuntos*
de mi rrequesta con grant paçiençia.[1]

Fynida

Enpero que juro e les aperçibo
que sy con yra subo en estrybo,
que moro me torne sy non los costribo*
o faga[2] que callen syn más detenençia.

{CB 422} Enplazamiento que fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena contra los dichos mariscales e contra los otros rrespondientes para que viniessen a oyr la setençia[3] qu'el dicho Pero López diesse en este proçesso de susso rrelatado.

Señores discretos, dexando la ssaña
que tengo comigo por tantos baldones,
commo[4] me dixistes en los rrepullones
que todos notastes jugando de ma<ña>[5],
sabet llanamente que yo vos enplazo[6]
con este portero que vos porná plazo
para que vengades pagar el ornazo*
que todos comistes con vyno de Ocaña.

---

[1] *Pid* encloses the last three lines of this strophe in quotation marks.

[2] We have emended the MS reading of "fagan" to "faga". *Pid* and *Az* did the same thing, without indicating the original reading. *Mich*: "fagan", in keeping with the MS reading.

[3] MS reads "setetençia". We have omitted the redundant syllable. *Pid*, *Az*: "sentençia"; *Mich*: "se(n)tençia". This is not the first time these editors emend the common form "setençia" to "sentençia" to conform to modern usage. It is known that in the fifteenth to the early eighteenth centuries, consonant groupings of any sort, doublings or otherwise, met resistance by speakers of Castilian. The Real Academia Española states as much in its "Discurso proemial de la orthographía de la lengua castellana", one of the opening chapters to the *Diccionario de autoridades* (vol. 1, pp. lxvi-lxviii). See p. 122, footnote 4.

[4] *Az*: "como".

[5] MS reads "manana". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "maña", with no indication of emendation.

[6] *Pid*: "en plaso".

Fynida

Que al muy alto rrey le plaze que vala
el enplazamiento para la gran sala
del su Pero López de los de Ayala,
e mucho desea saber quién rregaña.

{*CB* 423} Rrespuesta del maryscal Pero Garçía

Señor, hanme dicho que allá en Alimaña
tovistes la tela con fuertes plaçones,
a quatro carreras quatorze melones,
e diz que feçistes muy bien cosa estraña[1];
pero con todo aquesto yo vos amenazo[2]
e piensso syn dubda lançarvos el lazo,
ca diz que furtastes ayer un terrazo
de vyno muy fuerte de allende Saldaña.

Fynida

Catat en mal punto vergüença tan mala
que diz que-l[3] tenedes çerrado en la mala*,
fasta que bolvedes[4] fazerle la cala*
que todos denuestan tan mala fazaña.

{*CB* 424} Este dezir fizo e ordenó Diego d'Estúñiga contra Juan Alfonso de Baena commo[5] a manera de rrequesta e sso entençión de le baldonar e afear* por quanto avía tomado rrequesta contra todos los mariscales e todos los otros.[6]

Sy vos fallastes la vena
del dezir e razonar
yo tengo muy grant pessar
sy se falló en Baena:
dígolo por non ussar

---

[1] *Mich* sets off the words "cosa estraña" with exclamation points.

[2] *Pid*: "ammaso".

[3] *Pid*: "dis que'l"; *Mich*: "dis que l'tenedes"; *Az*: "dis quel".

[4] *Pid*: "bolvades".

[5] *Az*: "como".

[6] This poem has nine stanzas while Baena's composition which follows it (*CB* 425) has ten. This leads *Az* to propose not unreasonably that the final stanza of this poem, *CB* 424, is lost (III, 889n.).

en v*uest*ra t*ie*rra trobar,
q*ue* más cura*n* de ssenbrar
mucha buena berenjena,
el q*ua*l han por bue*n* ma*n*jar.

Sabet que rresçibo pena
solamente en maginar*
de yo querer escuchar
v*uest*ra obra no*n* muy buen*a*:
esto es por no*n* ussar
en v*uest*ra tierra trobar,
que más q*ue*rrá*n* senbar[1]
mucha buena bere*n*jena,
el q*ua*l han por bue*n* ma*n*jar.

Sy Dios me dé bue*n* est*re*na[2]
quiérovos desengañar,
qu'el v*uest*ro mangorrear[3]*
por toda la corte suena:
esto es por non ussar
en v*uest*ra tierra trobar,
q*ue* más cura*n* de ssenbar[4]
(Fol. 146r)
<mucha buena berenjena>[5],
el q*ua*l han por bue*n* ma*n*jar.

Pues la gra*çia* e*n* ot*ro*s regna:
rrudo fustes* en loar
estos tres, vie*n*do estar
la corte de tajos llena:
esto fue por non ussar
en v*uest*ra tierra trobar,

---

[1] *Az* notes the MS reading of "senbar" (III, 890n.) but like *Pid*, gives "senbrar" in text of the poem. *Mich*: "que mas curan de senb(r)ar". Since this spelling--*senbar*--recurs throughout the poem, it has not been emended.

[2] *Pid*, *Az*: "¡Ay Dios me de buena estrena!".

[3] *Pid*: "mangonear".

[4] See footnote 1, p. 156. *Pid*, *Az*: "ssenbrar", with no indication of emendation; *Mich*: "ssenb(r)ar".

[5] MS reads "buena berenjena e mucha", the last syllable of "berenjena", -*na*, appearing in superscript with a caret beneath it showing where it is to be placed. Also, there is a lower-case *b* over "buena", a lower-case *c* over "berenjena", and a lower-case *a* over "mucha". As *Az* indicates (III, 890n.), this is the copyist's way of showing word order alphabetically, after realizing his error.

que más curan de senbar[1]
mucha buena berenjena,
el qual han por buen manjar.

Pues non llueve commo[2] truena,
mejor vos fuera callar,
que todo non es palar[3]*
nin gorjear* en Macarena[4]:
dígolo por non ussar
en vuestra tierra t<r>obar[5],
que más curan de senbar[6]
mucha buena verenjena[7],
el qual han por buen manjar.

Denvos paz con la patena
sy non que<re>ys[8] çesar[9],
aquí vos sabrán ssovar*
ssyn dubdança la melena:
esto es por non ussar
en vuestra tierra trobar,
que más curan de senbar[10]
mucha buena berenjena,
el qual han por buen manjar.

Sy vos fyeren del almena*
e non vos sabéys guardar,
mas vos valdrié ayunar
una santa quarentena:

---

[1] See footnote 1, p. 156.

[2] Pid, Az: "como".

[3] Like Mich, we have kept to the MS reading of "palar". Pid and Az, on the other hand, emended to "parlar" without noting the original reading.

[4] Pid, Az: "macarena".

[5] MS reads "tobar". Mich, like us, shows the emendation: "t(r)obar". Pid, Az: "trobar", the latter indicating the original reading (III, 890n.).

[6] See footnote 1, p. 156.

[7] Pid: "berenjena".

[8] Mich keeps to the MS reading of "queys". Pid, Az: "quereys", with no indication of emendation.

[9] Pid: "cesar".

[10] See footnote 1, p. 156.

esto es por non ussar
en vuestra tierra trobar,
que más curan de senbar[1]
mucha buena berenjena,
el qual han por buen manjar.

E sy mejor non se frena
vuestra lengua syn dubdar,
aquí vos ffarán andar
rredondo commo[2] colmena:
<esto> es por non ussar[3]
en vuestra tierra trobar,
que más curan de senbrar[4]
mucha buena berenjena,
el qual han por buen manjar.

Luego pongo mi cadena
sy quisiéredes[5] apostar,
que quien más peor rreplicar[6]
que pague una buena ...[7]:
esto es por non ussar
en vuestra tierra trobar,

---

[1] See footnote 1, p. 156.

[2] *Az*: "como".

[3] This line reads "es por non vssar" in the MS. *Pid*, *Az*: "esto es por non ussar", the latter noting the original reading (III, 891n.). *Mich*: "(esto) es por non ussar".

[4] *Az* mistakenly observes that the MS reads *senbar* (III, 891n.). In fact, as our text shows, it reads *senbrar*.

[5] *Pid*, *Az*: "quisierdes".

[6] *Az* notes that this line would scan correctly if the word *más* were omitted (III, 892n.). Granted *más peor* is redundant, but the line scans correctly if the two vowels of *peor* are elided.

[7] MS reads "que pague" very clearly. The remaining three words (¿vna buena çena?) are very faint, so faint in fact that *Pid* was unable to make them out and transcribed "que pague él la" followed by an ellipsis and a footnote stating that the end of the line is missing (471n.). *Mich* put a colon after the words "que pague" with no comment on the line's shortness. *Az* transcribed "que pague vna buena çena", noting that he did so "con alguna reserva" (III, 892n.). The words "vna buena" seem clear to us. It is the last word that eludes us, so we have transcribed the line as "que pague una buena ..." It is evident that two syllables are missing from the line and that the rhyme demands that this line ends in *-ena*. Still, to add "çena" to the end of the line would be somewhat presumptuous at this point.

q*ue* más curan de senbar[1]
mucha buena berenjena,
el qual han por bue*n* ma*n*jar.

{CB 425} Rrepuesta[2] de Jua*n* Alfon*so* por los co*n*sona*n*t*e*s.

Señor, çerca de Marchena
fue nasçido en un lugar,
el q*ue* vos fará tenblar
sy*n* furtar del arte agena[3]:
esto es, synple escolar,
porq*ue* q*ue*systes tentar
al que vos puede sangrar
v*uest*ras syenes con barrena
a ssabor del paladar.

Yo juro a la Madalena,
pues mi obra es sy*n*gular,
que sy juego al enbidar*
vos buscáys gra*n*t ataçena*:
esto es, synple escolar[4],
porq*ue* quesystes tentar
al q*ue* vos puede sangrar
v*uest*ras syenes con barrena
a ssabor del paladar.

La ssu obra no*n* retruena
del que quiere disputar,
e non se sabe alynpiar
la naryz qua*n*do sse[5] ssuena:
esto es, sy*n*ple[6] escolar[7],

---

[1] See footnote 1, p. 156.

[2] This is not the first occurrence of this spelling. *Mich* emends to "Re(s)puesta"; *Pid*, *Az*: "Respuesta", with no indication of emendation.

[3] MS reads "artagena" with a superscript *e* between the *a* and *g* and a caret showing where it is to be inserted.

[4] MS reads "escoralar". I have omitted the erroneous third syllable "-ra" from the poetic text, as have all previous editors.

[5] The word "sse" appears in superscript in the MS.

[6] *Az*: "symple".

[7] MS reads "escoralar". *Pid*: "esçolar"; *Mich*, *Az*: "escolar", the latter noting the original reading (III, 893n.).

porque quessystes[1] tentar
(Fol. 146v)
al que vos puede sangrar
vuestras syenes con barrena
a sabor[2] del paladar.

Bien meresçe rryca trena[3]*
el mi lindo capellar*,
e meresçe grant collar
quien vuestra lana carmena[4]:
esto es, synple escolar,
porque quesystes tentar
al que vos puede sangrar
vuestras sienes[5] con barrena
a ssabor del paladar.

Más menudo qu'el arena,
señor, vos pienso tornar,
sy vos yo quiero apretar
commo fiz ... :[6]
esto es, synple escolar,
porque quesystes tentar
al que vos puede sangrar
vuestras sienes[7] con barr<e>na[8]
a sabor[9] del paladar.

En Buytrago o en Villena
aprendiste el deytar*,

---

[1] Pid: "quesystes".

[2] Pid: "ssabor".

[3] MS reads "trena" with an abbreviation stroke over the n, typical of a dropped a. It is thus redundant. Pid and Az erroneously transcribed "trenna".

[4] Mich: "carmina".

[5] Pid: "syenes".

[6] The scribe omitted five syllables in this octosyllabic verso de arte menor. The last two syllables of the line probably ended in "-ena", as the rhyme-scheme demands. Pid (472n.) and Az (III, 893n.) acknowledge the absence of the rest of the line with a footnote and an ellipsis in the text. Mich notes the missing part of the line with a five-dot ellipsis.

[7] Pid: "syenes".

[8] MS reads "barrana". Pid, Mich, Az: "barrena", with no indication of emendation.

[9] Pid: "ssabor".

e non vos podrá ayudar
fray Diego de Muxena:
esto es, synple escolar,
porque quesystes tentar
al que vos puede sangrar
vuestras syenes con barrena
a ssabor del paladar.

El señor qu'es de Lerena
de vos me quiera anparar[1],
e vos quiera conservar
de la mi ssaña terrena:
esto es, ssynple[2] escolar,
porque quesystes tentar
al que vos puede sangrar
vuestras syenes con barrena
a sabor[3] del paladar.

El que de la grant[4] vallena
a Jonás quiso librar,
andando por alta mar,
vos anpare de mi antena:
esto es, synple escolar,
porque quesystes tentar
al que vos puede sangrar
vuestras syenes con barrena
a sabor[5] del paladar.

Señor, mucho se enajena
vuestro sesso en porfyar
con quien vos sabrá pegar
de sylvos* una dozena:
esto es, ssynple[6] escolar,
porque quessystes[7] tentar
al que vos puede[8] sangrar

---

[1] *Az*: "amparar".

[2] *Pid*: "synple".

[3] *Pid*: "ssabor".

[4] *Pid*, *Az*: "gran".

[5] *Pid*: "ssabor".

[6] *Pid*: "synple".

[7] *Pid*: "quesystes".

[8] MS reads "pueder". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az* "puede" without noting the original MS reading.

vuestras syenes con barrena
a sabor[1] del paladar.

Pues tanto se desenfrena
vuestra lengua en porfaçar*,
yo vos faré estornudar
tres pedos d'asna morena;
e por más vos apretar
sy vos bien quiero apurar,
al güego[2] de rrebidar,*
a los puercos[3] de Purchena
yo vos los faré fynchar.

---

[1] Pid: "ssabor".

[2] Pid, Az: "juego".

[3] Pid: "puertos".

{CB 426} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena rresquestando[1] por él a Juan Garçía de Ssoria e a Rrodrigo de Harana e a otro.

A vos nobleçido, discreto, prudente,
piernas e cuerpo de grant vanagloria,
a vos, el poeta don Juan de la Sorya,
en grado superno, letrado, exçelente,
a vos, el fydalgo cortés e çiente,
señor de <Harana>[2], gentyl escudero,
a vos, el sotyl e buen despensero*
del muy grant obispo, señor rreverente.

(Fol. 147r)

A vos todos tres, limados poetas,
e a cada uno por sy apartado,
aquel que se tyene por más esmerado
en la poetría, por artes perfectas,
a vos, mis amigos, personas discretas,
enbío saludes con grant amistança,
pero que me quexo de la grant errança
que todos fezistes después de conpletas[3]*.

Señores amigos, quiero que sepades
que fuy avissado de un cavallero[4]
franco, esforçado, leal, verdadero,
de alto linaje, con todas bondades,
que vos todos tres que diz que p<a>rlad<e>s[5]
muy desonesto por essos cantones*,
que mucho querrýedes ponerme quistiones
segunt ante noche las vos maginades*.

---

[1] *Mich*: "reqüestando".

[2] Where we have emended the line to read "<Harana>", there is a blank space in the MS. *Pid*, *Mich*, and *Az* indicate the blank in the MS with an ellipsis and do not propose any possible reading. It seems to us that "Harana" was the original reading for three reasons: 1) the three "addressees" are named in the rubric introducing the poem; 2)the other two "addressees", besides Rodrigo de Harana, are named in line 3 (Juan de la Soria) and line 7 ("despensero"); and 3) *Harana* fits well in the line, being of the required syllable length and not affecting the scansion in any negative way.

[3] *Az*: "completas".

[4] *Pid*: "caballero".

[5] As *Az* indicates (III, 896n.), the MS reads "perlados", a word which neither makes sense here nor fits with the rhyme scheme. *Az* emended the word to "parlades", with a note as to the original reading (III, 896n.). *Pid*, *Mich*: "parlades", with no indication of emendation.

Fynida

En fyn de rrazones, fablando cortés,
yo mucho querrya saber sy assy es;
por ende enbío[1] mi rryco pavés*
con <e>ste[2] fydalgo a quien rrespondades[3].

{CB 427} Rrespuesta que le dio al dicho Juan Alfonso de Baena el dicho Rrodrigo de Arana por los mesmos consonantes.

Por quanto podría de tal açidente,
señor Juan Alfonso, causarse[4] un estoria,
que non la matase quien mora en Bitoria,
nin todo el gentío que está en Benavente
en quanto atañe al más ynoçente
que trae entallado en manga sonbrero[5],
seredes seguro que por su garguero[6]
non vos arguya de ynsypiente*.

Non por rreçelo de vuestras saetas,
señor Juan Alfonso, seredes atreguado*,
nin por que me syento por muy conquestado[7]
del mucho rruydo[8] de vuestras tronpetas[9],
mas por ley algunos profethas[10]
e la su dotryna de grant alabança,

---

[1] *Pid*: "envio".

[2] The first two words of this line read "conste fydalgo" in the MS. *Az*: "con este fydalgo", with a note as to the original reading (III, 896n.). *Mich* emended like us to "con (e)ste fydalgo". *Pid*: "con'ste fydalgo".

[3] *Mich*: "rrespondedes".

[4] *Mich*: "cansarse".

[5] *Az*: "sombrero".

[6] *Mich*: "gargüero".

[7] *Az*: "conquistado".

[8] *Az*: "rruido".

[9] *Az*: "trompetas".

[10] *Pid*: "pro fethas"; *Mich*: "profetas". The difficult reading of this line leads us to believe that certain words have been left out. Perhaps the line may have originally read "mas por <la> ley <de> algunos profethas".

querrya con todos aver amigança
por ende seguro andat sy<n>[1] verguetas*.

Aquestas rrazones que ansy publicades,
que vos fueron dichas por un mensarero[2]
famoso, esforçado, gentyl e canpero[3]*,
de alto lynage, segunt lo mentades*,
sy sobre su testo un poco glosades,
ayna pornedes en pocos rrenglones
por donde oygades atales baldones,
que en plaça vos digan que nunca reptades[4]*.

Fynida

Señor Juan Alfonso, desque corronpés[5]
toda cortesya, deçís que querés[6]
fablar mesurado e ya non podés[7],
pues el comienço, señor, non guardades.

---

[1] MS reads "sy". Mich emends like us to "sy(n)". Pid, Az: "syn", with no indication of emendation.

[2] Pid, Mich, Az: "mensajero".

[3] Az: "campero".

[4] The MS here, even upon close examination, can lead to some confusion, because of the tilde over the first e in the word. If one takes the tilde as redundant, then the word can be read as "reptades" or "rejtades". If the tilde is viewed as an abbreviation sign, then the reading "reque<s>tades" or even "repetades" becomes possible. Pid and Az, on the other hand, read "restades", with no indication of emendation or of how they arrived at that reading. Mich, for his part, proposes the somewhat inadequate emendation of "retades", without mentioning the original reading. For our part, we have decided, based on the context, that the correct reading is "reptades" having considered as redundant the tilde over the first e.

[5] Mich: "corronpe(de)s".

[6] Mich: "quere(de)s".

[7] Mich: "pode(de)s".

{CB 428} Otra rrespuesta que le dio al dicho Juan Alfonso un despenssero de don Ferrando, obispo de Córdova, por conssonantes.

E<n>[1] muy grant pelegro[2] veo vuestra fruente,
señor Juan Alfonso, segunt vuestra estoria,
ca çierto seredes de mi palmatoria*
muy mal fostigado* por ser meresçiente;
ca veo que fustes muy desobediente
en vos me dezir que era parlero,
lo qual yo rresçibo por ser y terçero[3],
por mucha injuria luego de presente.

Y adesta[4]* syn dubda las nuestras caretas,
de vos e de mí, segund he pensado,
non se escussa por lo rreplicado
de las vos dexar e ussar de barretas*;
ca segunt yo veo vuestras maneretas*
e el rreblandir* de la vuestra lança,
vos levaredes* muy mala pitança*
en fyn de rrazones por estas burletas[5]*.

Por ende, señor, sy bien me buscades,
vos me fallaredes açerca un otero,
e que non lievo ningunt conpañero
--aquesto vos digo por que non temades--;
agora veremos de qué vos picades
en el derrybar de nuestros pendones,
que sy nos llegamos a los cabeçones,
de muerto o preso de mí non escapades.

---

[1] MS reads "Emuy". Pid, Az: "En muy", with no indication of emendation. Mich, like us, emends to "E(n) muy".

[2] Pid, Mich, Az: "peligro".

[3] The line should probably read "por ser <el> tercero", i.e., "el tercero mencionado en vuestro poema".

[4] Pid, Mich, Az: "Ya d'esta". It seems to us that "adesta" could be a late medieval form of the verb adestrar. The r of the consonant cluster is dropped much in the same way as senbar--"sembrar"--in CB 424.

[5] MS reads "jburletas".

Fynida

(Fol. 147v)

Por ende, amigo, non sobresaltés,
e quando llamaren, rrespondet: "¿Quién és?"[1]
Sy esto fazedes, nunca de través
seredes fferydo ussando[2] bondades.

{CB 429} Este dezir fizo e ordenó el dicho Juan Alfonso de Baena commo[3] en manera de rrequesta e pregunta general contra todos los trobadores que le quisiesen rresponder. E tomó el enpressa don Juan de Guzmán, hermano del conde <de> Niebla[4], el qual rrespondió e fue rreplicado por orden[5]; pero antes rrespondió Rrodrigo de Harana.

Pregunta de Juan Alfonsso[6] de Baena

A todos aquellos que sson muy agudos,
en la poetría que saben trobar,
a todos los otros que saben trobar[7]
los dichos ssotyles de los muy sessudos*,
a todos los onbres envyssos* e rrudos
que sson[8] derramados por todas las partes,
a todos los sabios que saben las artes,
les fago pregunta, tanbién a los mudos.

---

[1] *Az*: "respondet quien es". We agree with *Pid* and *Mich* that this is a case of direct discourse. These two editions show question marks; however, they do not show quotation marks.

[2] *Pid*: "fferido usando"; *Az*: "fferido vssando".

[3] *Az*: "como".

[4] MS reads "conde niebla". *Pid*, *Az*: "conde de Niebla", with no indication of emendation. *Mich*, like us, emends to "conde (de) Niebla".

[5] The word "orden" appears in the MS with an illegible letter between the superscript vertical undulating stroke indicating the omission of an *r*, and the *d*. It looks as though the copyist first wrote an "n" then tried to correct it unsuccessfully to an "r" with his stylus. I have disregarded the letter and have transcribed the word according to the abbreviated form of the letter "r" found in the customary superscript.

[6] *Pid*, *Az*: "Alfonso".

[7] *Pid* notes the repetition of the line-ending and suggests that "quizá en lugar de *trobar* debió decir *fallar*" (p. 687, n. CCXXXVIII). *Az* agrees with *Pid* (III, 899n.). Nevertheless, all previous editors of this poem, including those who have suggested this emendation, have stuck to the manuscript's original reading of *trobar*.

[8] *Pid*: "son".

Dezidme, señores, por vuestra mesura,
el arte de trobas ssy es por çiençia,
o es por engenio o es por ffem<enç>ia[1]*,
o es por abdaçia* o es por cordura,
o el arte gayossa sy toca en locura,
o aquél que la sygue sy sube en el peso
de sser estruydo* ssu cuerpo con ssesso[2]
ssy non lo manpara* quien fyzo natura.

Ffynida[3]

Q<u>ien[4] bien rrespondiere quiçá por ventura
será muy loado por más que poeta,
por ende veamos quien pone carreta[5]*
e juega de mate por arte madura.

{CB 430} Rrespuesta de Rrodrygo[6] de Arana.

Nyn todos non vysten tapetes velludos
éssos que nonbrades[7] en vuestro cantar,
nin saben por arte fermoso dançar
con moços loçanos los viejos barvudos[8],
nin todos los ommes[9] que son cabeçudos
non sson[10] nasçidos en día de martes,*
nin todos los otros menores pillartes*
de todos cordones desfazen los nudos.

---

[1] MS reads ffemia, the version found in Mich. Pid, Az: "ffemençia", with no indication of emendation.

[2] In an erroneous footnote, Pid indicates the ssesso should probably read scesso (p. 687, n. CCXXXVIII).

[3] Pid: "Fynida".

[4] MS reads "Qien". Pid, Mich, Az: "Quien", with no indication of emendation.

[5] Pid indicates that carreta should read careta, though it shows the former in the actual text of the poem (p. 687, n. CCXXXVIII).

[6] Anac, Az: "Rrodrigo".

[7] Az: "nombrades".

[8] The last syllable of barvudos, i.e., "-dos" appears at the beginning of the next line in the MS.

[9] Mich: "ombres".

[10] Pid: "son".

E pues vos picades en vuestra escriptura
palabras dytar* de grant eçelençia,
señor, yo rremito a vos la sentençia
que me demandedes[1] con mucha quexura*;
por ende, señor, catat la letura*,
mirad bien el fallo, non vaya defeso*,
e luego veredes quién tiene presso[2]
aquesta çiençia que avéys por escura*.

Fynida

Non tengo que sepa toda criatura
traerse fermosso en silla gineta*,
nyn todo christiano saber la planeta
o cursso en que nasçe su noble fygura.

{CB 431} Rreplycaçión de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

Mucho* son flacos los vuestros escudos,
señores amigos, para batallar,
por ende rrequesta[3] queredla dexar,
pues torneades de golpes menudos;
e porque estades de armas desnudos
guard<ad>vos, señor<e>s, de mis basala<r>tes*,[4]
non vos rretaçen[5]* vuestros[6] estandartes
que non lo[7] sanedes con muchos engrudos*.

---

[1] Pid, Az: "demandades".

[2] While keeping to the MS reading of "presso", Pid observes that this word should probably read apresso, meaning "aprehendido" (p. 687, n. CCXXXIX).

[3] MS reads "rrequestan". Obviously, the context calls for a noun, not a conjugated verb. Pid and Az also give "rrequesta", the latter noting the MS reading (III, 901n.). Mich: "rreqüestan".

[4] MS reads "guard vos señors de mis basalantes". Pid, Az: "guardad vos, señores, de mis basalartes", with no indication of emendation, save for Az's observation of the MS reading of "basalantes" (III, 901n.). Mich: "guard vos, señores, de mis basalantes", the only emendation being in the word "señores". We have chosen to show the more common fifteenth-century form of "guard<at>vos".

[5] Mich: "rrecaçen".

[6] MS reads "vrros" with a horizontal stroke over the double r. Like all previous editors, we have chosen to resolve the abbreviation as "vuestros". See p. 122, n. 4.

[7] Pid: "los".

Ca vos prometo--creetlo por jura--
sy non vos rrendides con gran rreverençia,
dando loores e muy grant potençia
a mi pregunta de grant fermosura,
sotyl, rradicante, syn otra mistura*,
e non aldeana de sopas en queso,
yo vos faré qu'el puerco salpresso[1]
comades por ave de mucha dulçura[2].

Fynida

E porque non distes rrespuesta muy pura[3]
al alta quistión[4] profunda, discreta,
non ay[5] por cossa que non vos cometa
a ver sy tenedes la lança bien dura.

{CB 432} Rrespuesta de Rrodrigo de Arana.

(Fol. 148r)

Muy bien rresystieron[6] los mis varascudos*
los vuestros encuentros syn[7] rrevés tomar,
en flaco doral* quesystes provar
falcones muy bravos, lygeros, sanudos[8]*;
agora lavancos* que son corajudos*
serán conquistados Lysuartes[9],
sy tú, Alfonso Alvares, aquí non despartes[10]*
en grant priessa* veo estar dos gajudos*.

---

[1] Mich: "salpreso".

[2] In the MS, the final "a" of dulçura is found in superscript.

[3] In the MS, the "u" of pura is found in superscript.

[4] Pid, Az: "question".

[5] Pid, Az: "hay".

[6] Pid, Az: "rresystyeron".

[7] Pid: "ssyn".

[8] Pid, Az: "sañudos".

[9] Mich: "lysuartes".

[10] Pid, Az: "departes".

El ángel Luzbel sobido en altura
qui<s>[1] paresçer a tres en esençia,
pero non se pudo levar* en paçiençia
que luego lançado non fue en la fondura;
e bien se demuestra vuestra catadura*
seguir la<s>[2] pasadas[3]* de aqueste sahuesso*,
con furya e con piedra fablando muy teso
e devaneando con la calentura.

Fynida

Ya sobre lo prieto* non avredes[4] tintura[5]
nin vuestra[6] dolençia non será secreta,
por mí pregonado serés con corneta
en montes e valles de grant espesura.

{CB 433} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

A todos los asnos que fueren patudos*
mucho conviene de los despalmar*,
e más en el març‌o suelen trasquilar*
atantos los borros que fueren lanudos;
e pues que por dichos sallidos* e crudos
con grant desmesura comigo departes,
yo te faré que non sepas partes,
tú nin los otros cantores faldudos*.

Ca sy Luçifer[7] erró con soltura,
non faze nada a la conseqüençia,
por ende me pessa con tu grant dolençia
ca es incurable de mala fygura;

---

[1] MS reads "qui". Like us, Mich gave the emendation of "qui(s)". Pid, Az: "quis", with no indication of emendation.

[2] MS reads "la". Mich, like us, showed his emendation: "la(s)". Pid, Az: "las", with no indication of emendation.

[3] Pid: "pisadas".

[4] Mich: "avres".

[5] Pid: "criatura". The note in Az may be confusing: it says that Pid transcribed "tintura" for "criatura", but it surely means the opposite, i.e., "criatura" for "tintura" (III, 903n.).

[6] Pid: "vestra".

[7] Mich: "Lucifer".

pero sy te pico en la matudura[1]*
e de mis dichos te tyenes por lesso*,
al mi asno pardo arrápale un beso
de yuso* del rrabo con sorrabadura[2].

Fynida

E de tus baldones yo non fago cura
pues só rreligiosso, de vida muy neta,
enpero sy quieres tañer la tronpeta
di e digamos a ver quien apura.

{CB 434} Rrespuesta de Rrodrygo de Harana.

Todos aquéllos que son tartamudos
de grant enbaxada non deven ussar,
nin en las ovejas se puede ganar
sy en <e>llas[3] non andan carneros cojudos*,
rrezios, valientes, de lana peludos,
que den las varadas* en los talabar<t>es[4]*,
e fagan crianças e los aduartes[5]*
pónganles nonbres[6] carneros cornudos.

Yo procederé por toda censura[7]
sy non paresçedes en mi audiençia,
a vos que andades syn obediençia
apóstata fecho con mucha blandura

---

[1] *Pid*, *Az*: "matadura".

[2] *Mich*: "so rrabadura".

[3] MS reads "enllas". Like us, *Mich* emends to "en (e)llas". *Pid*, *Az*: "en ellas", with no indication of emendation.

[4] MS reads "talabares", the version found in *Mich* and *Az*. *Pid*: "talabartes", with no indication of emendation.

[5] *Pid*, while keeping to the MS reading, observes that "e los aduartes" should probably be "en los aduartes" (p. 687, n. CCXL). *Az*, noting the original reading (III, 904n.), gives "en los aduartes" in the text. This seems questionable, however, because the MS does not show the letter "e" for the conjunction in question, but the usual abbreviation resembling an inverted "2". If it were the letter "e", then "en" would be a more viable possibility, since we could say that the scribe left out the abbreviation stroke indicating the omission of a nasal consonant.

[6] *Az*: "nombres".

[7] *Pid*, *Az*: "çensura".

e a cárçel[1] perpetua so mi çerradura
seréys condenado syn dubda, don Bueso,
entonçe sabredes commo yo baldreso*
con mi diçiplina la vuestra çintura.

Fynida

Mucho fablastes con grant desmesura
en vuestro tratado en son de burleta*,
parez que ya poco avié en la galleta
quando notastes la tal ladr<a>ltura[2]*.

{CB 435} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

Anoche en la cama dy dos estornudos
fynos de rrabo después de çenar,
los quales declaran, segunt mi asmar,
que tú e los otros d'enbudos[3]*
seredes tomados segunt[4] los galludos*
se toman en rredes con los espadartes[5]*,
e tú, sy del todo de mí non te partes,
contygo son bueltos los mis capelludos.

A ty, mangamaço[6]*, syn otra tonsura,
por mí será dada muy grant penitençia,
pues tengo poder e tengo liçençia
a todos los locos de dar sagradura;
quien te metió en tal angostura,
synple, modorio*, que ansy tesos pesos[7]

---

[1] *Mich*: "carcel".

[2] *Pid* and *Az*, whose example we follow, both emended the original MS reading of "ladra altura" to "ladraltura", the latter noting the original MS reading (III, 904n.). *Mich* kept to the original reading.

[3] *Pid*: "de'nbudos"; *Mich*: "denbudos". This line is metrically defective, and *Az* concludes that it is likely incomplete (III, 905n.).

[4] *Mich*: "segu(n)t", due to the absence of an abbreviation stroke above the *u*. Cf. point (h) of our criteria for transcription in the Introduction.

[5] *Pid*: "espandartes".

[6] All previous editions transcribe "mangamaço" as "Mangamaço" (cf. *CB* 392v70).

[7] *Pid*: "symple, modorro, que ansy te sospeso"; *Mich*: "synple, modorio, que ansy te sospeso"; *Az*: "synple, modorro, que ansy te sospeso". None have indicated the original reading of the MS.

darte un baque* por su contrapesso,
que tal non se dio en Estremadura.

Fynida

(Fol. 148v)
E lea esto poco por añadedura
quien viste capuz de fyna bruneta*,
e non <s>e[1] avisse nin más s'entremeta
nin quisyera[2] que-l pique en el asadura[3]*.

{CB 436} Rrespuesta de Rrodrigo de Arana.

<L>os[4] tus argumentos anejos[5]*, talludos*,
sy por bien oviesses, deviéslo[6] çessar,
que contra natura serié asonbrar
los peçes pequeños a grandes bocudos[7]*;
cata que vengo de aquellos bermudos[8]*
e darte que fyngas fasta que te fartes,
o llégate a mí e non te me apartes,
verás commo[9] pelo los onbres greñudos[10].

Di que non tengas que tomo tristura
por lo que me dizes con tu nigligençia,
nin trabajo mucho con grant diligençia
en darte rrespuesta, nin tomo presura;

---

[1] MS reads "te", as found in *Mich*. *Pid*, *Az*: "se", with no indication of emendation.

[2] *Pid*: "quyera".

[3] MS reads "asasdura". *Pid*, *Az*: "asadura", without indicating the original reading; *Mich*: "asas dura".

[4] MS reads "Os", which *Mich*, like us, emends to "(L)os". *Pid*, *Az*: "Los", with no indication of emendation.

[5] *Pid*, *Mich*: "avejos". *Pid*, having misread the MS in the first place, states that "avejos" should correctly read "añejos" (p. 687, n. CCXLI). *Az* (III, 906n.) is incorrect in stating that *Pid* emended the word to "anejos".

[6] *Pid*: "devies los".

[7] *Pid*: "locudos".

[8] *Pid*, *Az*: "Bermudos".

[9] *Az*: "como".

[10] *Pid*: "grenudos".

ca sabe por çierto que mi amargura
es toda de alhynde* o[1] quando me arneso,
a quien yo me pago echo mal preso
de barvas en tierra sobre la vasura.

Fynida

A vos, don Fodido[2], que avéys la visura*
fecha por arte a guis de jaldeta*,
entyendo syn dubda ferir de saeta
e de açertarvos por la escotadura*.

{CB 437} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

Con ommes[3] rremotos que son orejudos
es perder tyenpo en los denostar,
por ende yo quiero jamás porfyar
con ommes[4] livianos de piernas çancudas[5]:
¡O señor Dios! por bueytres aludos
e rrycos falcones tus dones rrepartes,
pues estos sobervios se fazen dos partes,
dame en ayuda diez mill carajudos[6]*.

Deçiplo ynorante tu desaventura
te faze que tomes atal atrevençia,
contra un sabio que toda Valençia
non conostría* su desenboltura*;
e pues qu'es ya rrota aquesta costura
por qu'el negoçio te sea enpresso*,

---

[1] Az: "e", with a note as to the MS reading (III, 906n.). Pid, while transcribing "ó", notes that the line should correctly read "é" (p. 687, n. CCXLI).

[2] In Pid, the word "Fodido" is censored to "F.....". Naturally, this omission occurs in Anac too. The word appears written in full in Mich and Az.

[3] Mich: "ombres".

[4] Mich: "ombres".

[5] Like Mich, we have stayed with the MS reading of "çancudas". Pid and Az, on the other hand, emended the word to "çancudos" which, while fitting the rhyme-scheme, does not agree in gender with "piernas". Here, it seems that Baena has chosen to sacrifice rhyme for the sake of imagery, which in this case is quite comical.

[6] The word "carajudos" has been censored in Pid, and consequently, in Anac. In those two editions, we read "c.......".

mill consonantes de trigo e linueso*
te tengo guardados de mucha dol<ç>ura[1].

Fynida

Por ende, astroso, en la tocadura
faz que te tajen alguna jaqueta*,
pues que de armas está mi maleta
llena[2] e guarnida con su flocadura.

{CB 438} Rrespuesta de Rrodrigo de Arana.

Ya los[3] tus ojos están bermej<ud>os[4]
gastando candelas en estudiar,
mas non te va bien en el dylatar
por quanto te lanço los dados plomudos*;
e tú, del lynage de los Peragudos[5],
non serás egual de los Boxicartes[6],
nin es de rrazón[7] que con mis baxartes*
coman tus asnos muy viejos, dentudos*.

Tú andas buscando por la lystadura*
lo que te daré syn más detenençia,
sy non te dispones conplir[8] indulgençia[9]
qual yo te mandare, pues cato tu hura*;
¡guarte!* non bivas en tal amargura
commo[10] Diamira[11] por creer a Nesso,

---

[1] MS reads dolcura, the copyist having neglected to place a cedilla under the "c". Pid, Mich, Az: "dolçura", with no indication of emendation.

[2] In the MS, there is a redundant tilde over the n of "llena", which causes Mich to transcribe it as "llenna".

[3] Mich: "La los".

[4] MS reads "bermejos", the version found in Mich and Az. The latter does state, however, that "bermejudos" would be a better reading. Pid, "bermejudos", with no indication of emendation.

[5] Mich: "peragudos".

[6] Mich: "boxicartes".

[7] Az: "nin es rrason".

[8] Az: "complir".

[9] Mich: "in diligençia".

[10] Az: "como".

el qual con su sangre echó patiteso*
el grant cavallero e<n>[1] la vissadura*.

Fynida

Agora veo entrado por la çercadura*
que fue sobre Troya de mucha barreta*,
e tengo que Dares[2] asaz me prometa
de sus consonantes sy la lyd atura[3]*.

{CB 439} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

Por dichos sotyles e muy altitudos*
del arte polyda del metryffycar,
de ty, porqueryzo*, me quiero esmerar
fablando por metros que son çertitudos*;
e por que parescan en sy fortytudos*,
vamos por juez nos amos[4] las partes
a cassa[5] del rrey e dy[6] quándo partes
que veas tus dichos que son çamarrudos*.

Por quanto en trono de rryca pintura
saben[7] mis dichos por su providençia,
e tengo en el arte muy grant confidençia

---

[11] (...continued)
[11] *Pid*: "Dianira".

[1] *PId*, *Mich*, *Az*: "e".

[2] MS reads "quedares asaz". *Pid*: "que dares asas"; *Mich*, *Az*: "que Dares asas". Manuel Alvar dedicates an article to this "fynida". He states that the "Dares" referred to in the poem is "Dares de Frigia", the supposed hero of the battle of Troy ("Sobre unos versos...", p. 353). This is in keeping with the Trojan theme of the "fynida".

[3] *Pid*: "sy la lynda cura"; *Mich*: "sy la lydatura". *Az* gives a rather curious footnote for this line which seems to suggest that he thought the MS read "la lynda cura" instead of "la lyd atura". He observes that Alvar, in his article, "Sobre unos versos del *Cancionero de Baena*" [*RFE* 39 (1955): 351-54], emended the line correctly to "la lyd atura", which is what the codex reads anyway. Incidentally, the text in *Az* does in fact read "sy la lyd atura".

[4] *Pid*: "amas".

[5] *Pid*: "casa".

[6] *Pid*: "di".

[7] *Mich*: "suben".

(Fol. 149r)
que yo te derrybe d'esta lucha dura[1];
e porque amenazas de dar <ç>arpadura[2]*,
Dios non me vala sy yo te assesso,
ssy[3] en los estrybos las piernas entejo[4]
e topo contygo de noche al escura.

Fynida

Por ende te mando que des lymadura
a tus consonantes que non valen xeta*,
ca segunt veo andar tu carreta
non suena[5] cossa la su rredondura.

{CB 440} Pregunta de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

A vos proveydo de bien e ventura,
gentyl, nobleçido, cortés e graçioso,
fydalgo guarnido de mucha mensura,
con todas noblezas honesto, donoso,
a vos, señor, pido por esta escriptura
consejo discreto, prudente, famoso,
por quanto confyo en vuestra cordura
que vos lo daredes leal, provechoso.

Sepades que amo a una fermosa
que non la vy tal en Françia e Girona,
e tanto la veo gentyl e graçiosa
qu'es de las lyndas la flor e corona,
e dize que-l plaze de ser piadossa
e quiere ante ssy oyr tu persona,
e non se que-l diga por testo nin glosa
assy que ssó muerto de golpe de azcona*.

---

[1] *Pid*, *Mich*: "luchadura".

[2] MS reads "carpadura", as found in *Mich*. *Pid*, *Az*: "çarpadura", with no indication of emendation.

[3] *Mich*: "sy".

[4] *Pid*, *Az*: "entesso", the latter noting the MS reading of "entejo" (III, 909n.). Even though, the above emendation fits the rhyme-scheme of the poem it cannot even be justified etymologically since the Latin "x" of "texo" was quickly palatalized in Castilian, and never evolved into the voiceless sibilant it became in Italian. It is quite possible on the other hand that the assonance of "assesso" and "entejo", along with the fricative "[s]" and "[ ]" phonemes might create an effect of what could be called "pseudo-rhyme" that was permitted under poetic licence.

[5] MS reads "suena", with an unnecessary tilde over the *a*. Like us, *Pid* and *Az* disregard it, while *Mich* transcribed "sueña".

Fynida

Por ende, señor, merçed pido entera[1]
que vos que digades quál es la primera[2]
palabra que-l diga cortés, plaçentera,
en tal que vos guye aquél que perdona.

{CB 441} Rrespuesta de Rrodrigo de Harana.

Señor, el consejo de la cryatura
non es provado por tan valyoso,
que pueda suplir do mengua natura
ante es avido por muy sospechosso;
por ende, señor, en materya escura*
aved el consejo con omme[3] diosso*,
ca non es rrazón que por mi lectura
se funde la tema del monte preçioso.

Señor, esforçad[4] alegando la prosa
que ***dum steteris**** canta e rrazona,
e buelta al rrevés por ser maliçiosa
nunca defecto avréys con la dona,
mirum est lyngua estar oçyossa[5],*
después de maytynes[6] a ora de nona,
guardat non mostredes la faz vergonosa[7]*,
non ayades el acorro que ovo Escalona.

Fynida

Con buenas palabras más blandas que çera
nonbrando[8] señora en la delantera*,
pornéys do querades la vuestra vandera
tornando muy mansa la brava leona.

---

[1] Mich: "eterna".

[2] Mich: "que vos me digades qual es a primera".

[3] Mich: "ombre".

[4] Mich: "esforçado".

[5] Mich: "ocyossa".

[6] Pid: "maitynes".

[7] Pid, Az: "vergoñosa".

[8] Mich, Az: "nombrando".

{CB 442} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

La vuestra rrespuesta notable, muy pura,
señor de Arana, discreto, engeñosso[1]*,
non me contenta, magüer la fygura
sea bien acotada con testo famosso;
por ende vos rruego con mucha dulçura
e vos suplico con gesto amorosso
que vos me saquedes d'aquest<a>[2] trystura
con otro consejo muy más conortoso*.

Ca es mi pregunta sotyl, generosa,
asy se le entyende a vuestra corona,
e toda inflameçe asy commo rrossa
e non se conpuso al sol en Argona[3];
por ende, fydalgo, sy<n>[4] cara ssañossa,
señor, rresçebit de Juan de Carmona
aquesta mi carta muy dulçe, melosa,
por ver vuestra mula sy anda o es harona*.

Fynida

E pues que vuestra arte non val una pera
nin quatro[5] cogonbros de los de Lopera,
ande el molino e venga çivera*
ca bien sé commo anda la vuestra athaona[6]*.

{CB 443} Rrequesta que movió el dicho Rrodrygo de Harana contra Juan Alfonso de Baena.

Señor Juan Alfonso, dezid sy vos plaz<e>[7]
de darme las coplas e dichos que fyze
antes qu'el fuego más arda e atize
e que mi yelmo lo tome e enlaze;
ca yo vos prometo que non vos enplaze

---

[1] Pid: "discreto é generoso".

[2] MS reads "daqueste", which Pid, Mich, and Az left untouched.

[3] Pid: "Arjona".

[4] MS reads "sy". Pid, Mich, Az: "syn", with no indication of emendation.

[5] Pid, Az: "quantro".

[6] Mich: "achaona".

[7] MS reads "plaz", which Pid and Az transcribed as "plas". Mich showed his emendation as "plas(e)".

(Fol. 149v)

delante meryno*, alcallde, nin juez,
mas yo vos prometo llegar en la hez
aunque vuestra lengua tan mucho amenaze.

{CB 444} Rrespuesta de Juan Alfonso de Baena por los consonantes adessinos[1]*.

Señor de Harana, mucho me desplaze[2]
por que buscades que yo vos bautize,
o que vuestra barva rregane[3] e barnize
pues vedes mi lengua la obra que faz<e>[4];
por ende guardat[5] que non se amostaze*
mi gorda nariz en este axedrez[6],
pero si queredes, jugad a Belmez[7],
ca vuestra[8] artezilla non me sastyfaze.

{CB 445} Rreplicaçión de Rrodrigo de Harana contra Juan Alfonso de Baena.

Señor Juan Alfonso, aún me rrefaze[9]
la vuestra letrilla por quanto desdize,
por ende conviene que yo la matize
e ponga colores pues que se desfaze;
que vuestra çiençia ya bien llana[10] <y>aze[11],

---

[1] Pid, Mich, Az: "messmos".

[2] Pid, Az: "desplas".

[3] Pid: "rregune".

[4] MS reads "faz", which Pid and Az transcribe as "fas". Mich emends the reading to "fas(e)".

[5] Pid: "guarduat".

[6] Az: "exedres".

[7] Mich: "belmes".

[8] Pid: "vestra".

[9] MS reads "rrefazes". Previous editions have not mentioned the original reading.

[10] MS reads "llaña", the tilde over the n seemingly redundant. While Pid and Az disregard it, Mich transcribes it as "llanna".

tendida en el suelo por ser tan rrefez*,
pues commo dezides que passa defez[1]*
vuestra sotyleza e a mí non conplaze.[2]

Fynida

Aún por la segunda vez vos amonesto
que luego me dedes aquestos dezires,
so protestaçión sy oviere rreyres,
que sean contados a vos e protesto[3].

{CB 446} Rrespuesta de Juan Alfonso de Baena contra el dicho Rrodrigo de Harana.

Señor de Harana, por que se solaze
la vuestra persona e más sotyl<i>ze[4],
segund mi creer yo bien sastifiçe[5]
con letra fermosa que non se apelmaze*;
por ende quered que más se adelgaze
la vuestra çiençia con otro jahez,
e sy non, prometo, señor, d'esta vez
qu'el vuestro caxquete yo lo desenlaze.

Fynida

Ffabla con mesura cortés e modesto,
gentyl de Harana, cata non me<n>tires[6],

---

[11](...continued)

[11] Mich keeps to the MS reading of "faze", which is transcribed in that edition as "fase". Pid, Az: "yase", the latter noting the original reading (III, 445n.). The context clearly calls for "yaze", not "faze".

[1] Pid, Az: "de Fes"; Mich: "de fes".

[2] Az and Pid treat the last two lines of this stanza as a question.

[3] Pid: "en protesto".

[4] MS reads "sotyleze", transcribed by Mich as "sotylese". Pid, Az: "sotylise", the latter noting the MS reading (III, 914n.).

[5] Mich: "sastifiçé".

[6] MS reads "non metires". Pid: "non mentires"; Mich: "me tires"; Az: "non metires". We have emended to "me<n>tires", supposing that "mentires" is a corruption of the future subjunctive "mintieres". Why Azac gave "metires", only noting Pid's transcription without further comment, is a mystery.

ca puesto que piensses e mucho sospires
nichil*** rreplique<s>[1] por glosa nin testo.

{CB 447} Pregunta de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

Gonçalo señor, andando en Levante
fuy muy pagado de vuestra nobleza
por quanto servides con toda lyndeza
al noble graçioso e gentyl infante[2];
por ende cobdiçio con puro talante*
que luego sepades toda mi façienda,
con gesto amoroso, syn otra contienda,
segunt la rrepito por mi consonante.

Señor, vos sepades que fundo rrequesta
contra Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino,
poeta famoso, discreto, muy dino,
del qual yo deseo aver[3] su rrespuesta;
e non fallo uno en la grant floresta
del muy soberano e rrey de Castilla,
que tome la carga de nuestra[4] rrenzilla*
funda<da>[5] por arte sotyl, muy apuesta[6]*.

Fynida[7]

Por ende, señor, deçid por mesura
al gentyl infante de grant fermosura,
sy quiere tomar plazer e folgura,
que sea padryno de nuestra grant fiesta.

---

[1] MS reads "rrepliquez". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "rrepliques", with no sign of emendation.

[2] *Pid*, *Az*: "Ynfante".

[3] *Mich*: "aun".

[4] *Pid*: "nostra".

[5] *Pid*: "fundada", with no indication of emendation. *Mich*, *Az* keep to the original reading of "funda", *Az* noting the version found in *Pid* (III, 915n.).

[6] *Mich*: "muy aquesta".

[7] *Pid*, and consequently *Anac*, omit this word.

{CB 448} Rrespuesta de Gonçalo de Quadros.

Señor Juan Alfonso, el alto, constante,
ardit, esforçado, con toda proeza,
noble, graçioso, con mucha franqueza,
infante gentyl, señor dominante,
mucho le plaze syn otro distante[1]
que vuestra çiençia muy gaya se estienda,
porqu'es más sotyl syn ninguna emienda
e para más qu'esto es mucho bastante.

La vuestra grand carta graçiosa e onesta
a la su notyçia muy alta vyno,
e dize que quiere ser vuestro padryno
con voluntad del todo bien presta*;
por ende, señor, pues tanto dispuesta
es su merçet, queret vos seguilla,
que non fallaredes de aquí a Sevilla
sseñor tan gracioso[2] con lengua modesta.

Fynida

(Fol. 150r)

El alto, benigno, gentyl criatura,
señor[3], e discreto, de mucha cordura,
es plazentero de vuestra escriptura,
que con amorío* vos él amonesta.

{CB 449} Pregunta de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

Gonçalo sseñor, estando en Ssevilla,
después en la mar, después en Valençia,
después en Girona, después en Florençia,
después e<n> Navarra[4], después en Sevilla,
muchas de vezes vos ove rrogado,
assy commo[5] aquel a quien ssó obligado,
que fuesse por vos del todo avissado
los vuestros amores sy son en Castilla.

---

[1] *Pid*, *Az*: "discante".

[2] *Pid*, *Az*: "graçioso".

[3] *Pid*, *Az*: "sseñor".

[4] MS reads "enauarra". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "en Navarra", with no indication of emendation.

[5] *Az*: "como".

E yo confyando en vuestra amistança
penssé que avría de vos la rrespuesta,
cortés e graçiosa, ssotyl e modesta,
tal que partiesse mi tribulança[1];
mas vos, señor mío, estonçe* nin agora,
nunca nonbrastes[2] la vuestra señora,
sy era cristiana, judía nin mora,
Haxa o Jamila, Ynés <o>[3] Constança.

Fynida

Por ende vos rruego, gentyl con onores,
que vos me digades en vuestros discores
en qué punto sson los vuestros amores
con vuestra sseñora, syn más alongança.

{CB 450} Rrespuesta de Gonçalo de Quadros.

Señor Juan Alfonso, pessar e manzilla
avrés de mi mal syn más detenençia,
pues que queredes saber mi dolençia
e la mi cuyta de grant maravilla,
sabet que yo amo e soy desamado
e aquella que syrvo me tiene olvidado,
e syenpre[4] me fue su gesto ayrado,
magüer es fermoso syn otra conçilla*.

Por ende, señor, sabet syn duvda<n>ça[5],
en quánto atañe[6] a vuestra rrequesta,
que mi negro amor tan caro me cuesta

---

[1] Az notes that this line would make sense with the modification "...partiesse de mi..." (III, 917n.). We fail to see how this is so. Granted the line does not scan properly, but it does make sense in the context.

[2] Mich, Az: "nombrastes".

[3] MS reads "e", as found in Mich. Pid, Az: "o", with no indication of emendation.

[4] Pid, Az: "siempre".

[5] MS reads "duudaça". Pid, Az: "dubdança"; Mich: "dudança", none with any indication of emendation. Az states erroneously that the MS reads "dundança" (III, 918n.).

[6] Pid: "atañen".

e ya mi servir <es> syn esperança,[1]
porqu'el[2] mi mal cada día enpeora
e vuestro Gonçalo non rrye mas llora,
e bive mesquino muriendo a desora
mill vezes al día con des<es>perança[3].

Fynida

E pues que quisystes saber mis dolores,
consolame vos[4], flor de dezidores,
con algund julepe de buenos olores
commo a otros fazedes grant lealtanza*.[5]

{CB 451} Rreplicaçión de Juan Alfonso de Baena.

Lyndo fidalgo, rrespuesta senzilla
me distes a toda mi alta çiençia,
por ende vos pido con grant rreverençia
que vos me digades syn otra rrençilla*:
la vuestra señora de gesto apurado,
sy bive en çibdat de muro çercado
o mora de fuera d'aqueste rreynado
en Françia, Alimaña o en esta grant villa.

Otrosy vos pido con grant afincança
que la soluçión me dedes muy presta,
sy es ençerrada o bive en floresta,
ca mucho desseo saber su cryança
por quanto es fama que bive en Çamora,
e otros me dizen que cree<n> en Atora[6],

---

[1] MS reads "e ya mi servir syn esperança", as found in *Mich*. *Pid*, *Az*: "e ya mi servir es syn esperança", the latter noting the original reading (III, 918n.).

[2] *Anac*: "porque'el".

[3] MS reads "desperança", the version found in *Mich*. *Pid*, *Az*: "desesperança", with no indication of emendation.

[4] *Mich*: "consola(d)mevos".

[5] *Pid*: "commo a otros fasedes con grant lealtança"; *Az*: "commo a otros fasedes con grant lealtansa", with no sign of emendation. *Mich* keeps to the manuscript, but like *Az*, confuses *s* and *z* showing "lealtansa".

[6] *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "cree". Here the poet is asking Gonzalo de Cuadros where his beloved lives. The context thus calls for "creen". *Pid* (p. 706) and *Az* (III, 919n.) claim that "Atora" means "Torah", the holy book of the Jews. We do not dispute this definition, but given the context, stand firm in our belief that "Atora" is a place-name, and one that may no longer exist.

e otros allegan que allende de Lora
su triste sospiro vos da tribulança.

Fynida

Sy esto dezides syn otros pavores,
señor, yo vos mando guirlanda de flores
el día graçioso que los justadores
darán mejoría a vuestra grant lança.

{CB 452} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena al rrey nuestro[1] señor quexándosse[2] de la pobreza que tenía e de una mula[3] que se le muryó, e pidiéndole merçed[4] e ayuda para su costa e mantenimiento.

Muy alto señor[5], non visto aduay*,
nin visto color de buen verdegay*,
nin trobo discor, nin fago deslay,
pues tanto dolor yo veo que ay,
mas llanto
e quebranto,
en planto
faré canto
--¡ay, ay, ay!--por el mal tanto.

(Fol. 150v)
Omme[6] pobre o ssyn dinero
nunca bive plaçentero.

Muy lindo, fermosso e muy rreverente,
e[7] rrey generosso, discreto, prudente,
señor poderosso e muy ençelente,
sabet que non osso trobar de talente*,
pues Yllana[8],
mi hermana,
la terçyana,
es quartana*:
¡ay, ay, ay! ¿por qué non sana?[9]

---

[1] *Pid*: "nostro".

[2] *Az*: "quexandose".

[3] In *Pid* the conjunction "e" is omitted so that the preceding phrase reads "...que tenia de una mula..."

[4] *Pid*: "merced".

[5] *Pid*, *Az*: "sseñor".

[6] *Mich*: "Ombre".

[7] *Pid*, *Az*: "e" is omitted. The latter notes the original MS reading (III, 920n.).

[8] *Pid*, *Az*: "Illana".

[9] No previous editor has treated this line as a question. The poet's sister Yllana, whether a fictional character or an historical human being, is suffering from the quartan. It is not a matter of cause: because she is not getting better she has the quartan? This is clearly absurd. Nor is it a question of a subjunctive: *sanar* is a first-conjugation verb,

(continued...)

Con dolençia e con dolores
mal ordena omme[1] discores.

Muy sabio, profundo e muy verdadero,
de quien en el mundo merçedes espero,
sabed que Agudo, el mi mensajero,
nin Pedro, el segundo que fue al tesorero,
non vinieron,
nin bolvieron,
nin los vieron,
sy muryeron:
¡ay, ay, ay! ¿por qué allá fueron?

Quando el mensajero tarda
es sseñal de burra parda.

Muy rryco e franco e[2] rrey de Castilla,
sabed que só manco e tengo manzilla,
pues ya perdió Tranco, mi mula morzilla,
ca muerta en barranco está tras la villa,
por lo qual
estó mortal,
sy aquí non val
obra rreal
--¡ay, ay, ay!--por tanto mal[3].

Pues dolor de tal tristeza
ssánelo vuestra franqueza.

Muy noble, discreto, mi mal es más ancho,
ca me torno prieto*, e triste don Sancho
açuela con peto* lo pique--o garrancho[4]*--,
ca sy me someto, rremira* de gancho*,
e rresponde
Juan vizconde,
non sé donde

---

[9](...continued)
therefore "por que" cannot mean "para que". The only alternative left is that of a question and one which voices despair at the sister's illness.

[1] Mich: "ombre".

[2] In Pid, the conjunction "e" is omitted.

[3] Mich: "mall".

[4] The first syllable of garrancho, "ga-", appears in superscript in the MS with a caret sign beneath it indicating where it is to be inserted.

libre al conde
--¡ay, ay, ay!--por que ande.[1]

Ca por me librar con brío
calentura tengo e frío.

Muy casto, aun digno, que más es mi duelo,
pues mi enemigo ya es Daviuelo[2],
ca burrla[3] comigo e non ha rreçelo
de ser mal amigo, magüer que le velo
rrepullones
e baldones
e chançones*
e cançiones
--¡ay, ay, ay!--por mill rrazones.

Sy Davy daña o rrevessa
buelta es la grant rremessa.

{CB 453} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena al señor condestable don Alvaro de Luna dándole rregla por quanto estava quartanario*, e pidiéndole favor e ayuda que se rremenbrase* d'él.

Señor generoso e grant condestable,
pues fuy e só vuestro[4] en tanto que biva,
por ende conviene que yo vos escryva
consejo muy sano e muy agradable,
el qual sy tomades, sseñor rredutable*,
poniéndolo en obra con toda femençia,
confyo por Dios que vuestra dolençia
en muy breve tienpo sserá rreparable.

Señor, lo primero ssobre que me fundo
es que partades ssyn más detenençia
de tierra tan frya que engendra corrençia*
su<s>[5] ayres e fríos e daño profundo;

---

[1] As *Az* notes (III, 922n.), the rhyme here is clearly irregular.

[2] *Mich*: "Daniuelo".

[3] *Pid*: "burla".

[4] *Pid*: "vestro".

[5] MS reads "su". *Mich* emends like us to "su(s)". *Pid*: "de", with no indication of emendation; *Az*: "sus" , with a footnote giving the original reading (III, 923n.).

ca para el otubre que viene ...[1]
mejor me paresçe Madrid e Toledo,
Córdova o Sevilla do bive onbre[2] ledo
(Fol. 151r)
e fuelga creyendo que está en otro mundo.[3]

Señor, lo segundo que yo vos consejo
es que vos comades muy buenas via<n>das[4],
capones assados, gallinas muy blandas,
e non vos curedes de liebre e conejo,
buen vino maduro, oliente, bermejo,
--bevedlo tenprado con taças doradas--
e más, sobre todo, las rropas preçiadas
vestidlas forradas en lindo pellejo.

Señor, lo terçero e más provechoso
es que non tomedes ningunos pesares,
más muchos plazeres oyendo juglares
con gesto rriente, gentyl, deleytosso,
a todos muy franco, cortés, gasajoso,
algunas vegadas* cantando[5], tañiendo,
con lyndos fidalgos folgando e rryendo,
mirando su vista de rrey tan graçioso.

Señor, e[6] lo quarto con sseso[7] mediante
es que guardedes en este comedio*
ssy se vos alça el nervio de medio
que non retoçedes con el puxavante*,
ca es peligroso, segund dize Dante,

---

[1] MS reads "ca para el otubre que viene onbreledo". This seems to be a case of homoeoteleuton with line 15. This line should end in -undo, and for that reason we have suppressed the last two words of the line as being erroneous, like Pid (p. 494n.). Mich: "que viene ombreledo"; Az: "que viene ombre ledo". While Az transcribes the line as it appears in the codex, he notes that the line might have read "... que viene jocundo" (III, 923n.). Whatever the reading, it is clear that three syllables are missing and that the line should end in -undo.

[2] Mich, Az: "ombre".

[3] Between the words "otro" and "mundo" there is an erasure in the codex still faintly visible.

[4] MS reads "viadas". Like us, Mich emended the reading to "via(n)das". Pid, Az: "viandas", with no indication of emendation.

[5] Anac: "cantano".

[6] In Pid the conjunction "e" is omitted.

[7] In Mich, the words "con sseso" are transcribed as "conssejo".

Plauto, Gallego, tanbién Ypocrás,[1]
al que non guarda mesura e conpás
que quiere[2] del todo conplir su talante.

Señor, vos guardando dotrina tan buena
seredes guarido syn otras espeçias[3],
pero sy algunos notaren por neçias
aquestas mis coplas que fiz sobre çena,
con esta mi lengua que taja e çerçena
les quiero provar por testo syn glossa
que aquesta mi rregla es más provechosa
que otra ninguna que fizo Avyçena.

Fynida

Señor, con triaca* e flor de açuzena
conpús* estos metros por arte gayosa,
a ffyn que rryades e más otra cosa
que se vos mienbre* de mí, el de Baena.

{CB 454} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena a Ferrand López de Saldaña rrogándole que le diesse favor con el señor condestable.

Fferant[4] López de Saldaña,
mi señor gentil, loçano,
ssecretario e escrivano
del muy alto rrey d'España,
rruégovos que muy syn saña
supliquedes al privado
muy leal del rrey loado
que obre sienpre fazaña.

---

[1] Problematic line. MS reads "plauto gallego tanbien ypocras". "Gallego", reference to Galeno ("Galen")? "Ypocrás": Hipócrates or "hipocrás" (a medecinal beverage)? *Pid*, *Az*: "Plauto, Galleno, tanbien Ipocras". *Mich*: "Plauto, Gallego, tanbien Ypocras". *Az* notes: "Dice *Gallego* en vez de *Galleno* en el ms." (III, 924n.).

[2] *Pid*: "quiera".

[3] *Pid*: "especias".

[4] *Pid*: "Ferrand"; *Mich*: "Ferant"; *Az*: "Ferrant".

Fferra<n>d[1] López de Saldaña,
mi señor e mi amigo,
entendet bien lo que digo,
non fagáys el juego maña,
yo deseo cossa estraña
--creedlo syn duda alguna--
qu'el muy grant señor de Luna
fuesse cónsol[2] de Alimaña.

Fferant López de Saldaña,
creet más que en el offiçio
qu'él me dio a su serviçio
yo só presto e mi conpaña;
enpero porque el araña
me conquista e me guerrea,
deseo aver su librea*
e, del rrey, mula castaña.

Fynida

Fferra<n>d[3] López de Saldaña,
sy por vos algo se mengua[4],
rreguardatvos* de mi lengua
que taja más que guadaña.

{CB 455} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena a Garçí Alvarez, señor d'Oropessa, para que le diese favor con el señor condestable.[5]

Señor d'Oropessa, sabed que me pesa
e teng<o>[6] quebranto, dolor e manzilla,
por quanto en dehesa*, muerta, muy tesa,
está la mi mula, graçiosa morzilla*;
por ende a la messa tomad el enpresa

---

[1] MS reads "Fferrad" with the upper diagonal stroke of the *d* being significantly elongated over the *a*, suggesting that it also serves as an abbreviation stroke over that letter to indicate the omission of the *n*. Still, this cannot be ascertained, so we have chosen to show an emendation. *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "Ferrand", with no indication of emendation.

[2] *Mich*: "con sol".

[3] See note to line 9 of this poem.

[4] *Anac*: "mangua".

[5] *Anac*: "...con el Condestable", omitting the word "señor".

[6] MS reads "tenga". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "tengo", with no indication of emendation.

delante el muy alto e rrey de Castilla[1],
que d'otra avilessa* con brida françessa
me faga merçed syquiera syn silla.[2]

(Fol. 151v)
Señor, para esto yo non ssé Digesto
que tanto rrepare mi tryste fortuna,
nin glosa nin testo de Chyno e de Sesto
que faga que mane mi seca <la>gu<n>a[3],
salvante[4] el modesto, cortés e muy onesto,
e noble fidalgo de la clara luna:
sy a vos plaze, d'esto, señor, seré presto*
a vuestro serviçio syn dubda ninguna.

Fynida

Señor, sy con esto non pesca mi çesto,
magüer va limado por arte comuna,
sabet que protesto con muy bravo gesto
que faga mi taja en cuenta sobruna*.

{CB 456} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena a Martín Gonçales e Sancho Rromero pidiéndoles ayuda de su péndola*.

My sseñor Martín Gonçales,
otrossy Sancho Rromero,
escrivanos muy leales
cada qual muy verdadero,[5]
acorred que desespero
porque me corre Fortuna,

---

[1] *Pid*: "delante el muy alto Rrey de Castilla".

[2] *Mich* breaks up the lines of this poem according to the internal rhyme, and so disregards the manuscript's presentation of them. The first stanza can serve as an illustration of the pattern followed by the second stanza and the *finida* in *Mich*: "Señor d'Oropessa, / sabed que me pesa / é tengo quebranto, dolor é mansilla, / por quanto en dehesa / muerta muy tesa / está la mi mula graçiosa, morsilla: / por ende á la messa / tomad el enpresa / delante el muy alto é rrey de Castilla, / que d'otra avilessa, / con brida françessa, / me faga merçed, sy quiera, syn silla" (*Mich*, vol. II, p. 143).

[3] MS reads *alguña*. *Pid*, *Mich*:"laguna", with no indication of emendation. *Az* gives "laguna", while stating that the MS reads "alguna" (III, 926n.).

[4] *Anac*: "salvando".

[5] This line is omitted in *Pid*.

e me lança en su laguna
do non biva plazentero.

My sseñor Martín Gonçález,
otrosy Sancho Rromero,
doss amigos prinçipales[1],
con amor leal, entero,
a mí un pobre escudero
que moro çerca d'Ozuna,
acorredme con algu<n>a[2]
péndola de <su> dinero.[3]

Mi sseñor Martin Gonçález,
otrosy Sancho Rromero,
mis rrenglones tales quales
ponedlos en enbolt<e>rio[4]*
do non sea el postrimero;
pues el grant señor de Luna
será sy<n>[5] dubda ninguna
con nobleza buen çertero.

Mi señor Martín Gonçales,
otrosy Sancho Rromero,

---

[1] *Mich*: "principales".

[2] MS reads "algua". Like us, *Mich* emends to "algu(n)a". *Pid*, *Az*: "alguna", with no indication of emendation.

[3] The word *de* appears in superscript in the MS with a caret beneath it, such that the line reads "pendola $\overset{de}{\wedge}$ syn dinero". In our edition the word "syn" has been emended to "<su>". The previous editors believe the superscript to read "da", which is clearly not the case. Nevertheless, *Pid* and *Az* give "pendolada syn dinero" and *Mich* transcribes "pendola da syn dinero". Neither version makes sense since the poet is clearly seeking economic assistance. *Az* notes erroneously: "La sílaba *da* de *pendolada* interlineada en el ms." (III, 928n.).

[4] *Pid*: "enbolterio". As *Az* notes, this line is irregular in its rhyme (III, 928n.). This is not the first time that "enboltorio" is used as rhyme for words ending in -*ero* and this leads us to believe that *Pid* was correct in his emendation. Given the two occurrences of this word, it seems that *enbolterio* was a variant pronunciation of *enboltorio*. Undoubtedly, the scribe copying the poem believed that the poet was mistaken in his spelling of the word. Moreover, Dorothy Clarke in her *Morphology of Fifteenth-Century Castilian Verse* has noted many instances of diphthongs being used to rhyme with pure vowels in the poetry of this period and indicates that this was obviously an accepted practice of the age.

[5] There is no abbreviation stroke over the "y". For that reason, we have enclosed the *n* in pointed brackets. *Pid*: "sy". *Mich*, *Az*: "syn", with no indication of emendation.

acored[1] a tantos males
el que pudiere primero
con la pluma o tyntero,
por qu'el rrey tan sola una
mando a parda o zorruna
me libre en su thesorero.[2]

Mi sseñor Martín Gonçal<e>s[3],
otrosy Sancho Rromero,
de vuestra cota e braçales
grant ayuda non espero,
ante vos pido e rrequiero

---

[1] *Pid*: "acorred".

[2] MS reads: "porquel rrey tan sola una / mando a parda o zorruna / me libre en su thesorero." Lines 31-32 are nonsensical in the context of this poem. The Marqués de Pidal suggested altering them to

> Me mande parda ó sorruna
> Librar por su thesorero. (p. 688, n. CCXLVI).

They do make more sense with these emendations, but the debate continued with Azáceta proposing a somewhat more problematic reading:

> mande la parda o sorruna
> me libre el su thesorero. (III, 928n.)

With some hesitation we advance the hypothesis that in "mando a" there is a corruption of "manda" (in the sense of a written "order" or "disposition" by the king), after which "parda o sorruna" are used as modifiers of the noun "manda", each word describing a breed of "mula" implicit in the object of the "manda". Indeed we are left with an enjambment very atypical of Baena's poetry, but this may serve to underscore the poet's economic hardship which has become so dire that he is unable to write verse properly. Hence, we propose the following as an alternative reading:

> porqu'el Rrey tan sola una
> mand<a>, parda o zorruna,
> me libre e<l> su thesorero. (lines 30-32)

Mich did not comment on these lines and presented them almost as they appear in the MS. He did however make "parda" and "sorruna" proper nouns, leading us to believe that he took these words to be the names of people, animals, or places:

> porqu'el rrey tan sola una
> mandó á Parda ó Sorruna
> me libre en su thesorero.

Like *Pid*, *Mich*, and *Az*, we have chosen to leave the lines as they appear in the MS, because any emendation would be too risky without more evidence.

[3] MS reads "gonçals". *Pid*, *Mich*, *Az*: "Gonçales", with no indication of emendation.

que de mi carta borruna*,
mazorral* e de Porcuna,
non rryades ca non quiero.

Fynida

E sy rreydes protesto,
magüer tengo rrudo gesto,
que por glossa e por testo
yo vos pique en el sonbrero.

{CB 457} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena para Pedro de Luzón rrogándole e pidiéndole favor e ayuda para con el señor condestable.

Muy discreto, bien criado,
gentyl Pedro de Luzón,
yo bien devo con rrazón
a vos ser muy obligado,
pues en el tienpo passado
que prové buscar fortuna,
por çierto syn duda alguna
de vos fuy bien ayudado.

Muy cortés e mesurado,
gentil Pedro de Luzón,
yo faría synrrazón[1]*
sy vos toviesse olvidado,
antes tengo rremenbrado[2]*
que ssy mana mi laguna
o floresçe mi tribuna
que fue por vos procurado[3].

(Fol. 152r)
Muy ardit, leal, provado,
gentil Pedro de Luzón,
aguardat tienpo e[4] sazón
para dar al grant privado
un dezir metrificado,
que non es obra borruna*

---

[1] Pid, Az: "syn rrason"; Mich: "synrrason".

[2] Az: "rremembrado".

[3] MS reads "procurador". Pid, Mich, and Az give no indication of the original reading.

[4] Pid omits this conjunction.

e nin va d'arte comuna,
con que tome gassajado.

Muy sotil, bien avisado,
gentil Pedro de Luzón,
pues ardet commo[1] tizón
con gesto bien esforçado
suplicando al muy onrrado
condestable de alta luna*
que me libre sola una
alvalá* del rrey loado.

Finida[2]

Muy gentil, sy soy librado
en Sevilla o en Ossuna,
o en Jahén o en Porcuna,
yo vos vea bien casado.

{CB 458} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena a Ferrant López de Saldaña rrogándole que le firmase el aguilando* del conde estable[3]*.

Esta noche sobre çena,
señor noble de Saldaña,
con plazer e non con saña
despachat al de Baena,
e sacatlo d'esta pena
en tal ora que gozedes
d'aquélla que vos queredes
mucho más que a Poliçena.

Fynida

E ssy esto vos ffazedes
e por obra lo ponedes,
júrovos que me tenedes[4]
por vuestro presso en cadena.

---

[1] *Az*: "como".

[2] *Pid*: "Ffynida"; *Mich*: "Fynida".

[3] *Pid*: "Condestable"; *Mich*, *Az*: "condestable", with no indication of the original reading or their emendation.

[4] *Pid*: "ternedes". Although *Az* fails to note *Pid*'s reading, he does observe the following: "Mejor *ternedes* que *tenedes*, que es la lectura del ms." (III, 931n.).

{CB 459} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena a Alfonso Pérez de Oviedo, escrivano.

Sy me sodes buen padrino,
mi señor Alfonso Pérez,
e me sodes buen alférez,
llanamente determino
que esta noche, Dios quiriendo[1],
a Ferrant López plaziendo,
quier burlando, quier rriendo,*
me darán para tozino.

Finida[2]

Pero si fuer al rrevés
e non se libra este mes,
en mi ojo gra<n>t[3] pujés
meresco por adevino.

{CB 460} Dezir de Juan Alfonso al portero del condestable.

Pues que guardas la grant torre,
portero del muy notable,
poderoso conde estable[4]*,
rruégote que non se engorre*
de librarme don Fulán,
sy quieres qu'el balandrán*
de pellejos yo te enforre.

Fynida

Por ende te pido e rruego
que lo non eches en juego,
mas que ardas commo[5] fuego
por que todo non se borre.

---

[1] *Mich* emends unnecessarily to "quirie(n)do", since the abbreviation stroke over the *e* is both clearly visible and separate from the elongated left-leaning dorsal stroke of the *d*. *Az*: "queriendo". It appears that *Az* thought he was transcribing the MS reading, since he gives *Pid*'s (and our) reading of *quiriendo* as erroneous (III, 932n.).

[2] *Pid*, *Mich*: "Fynida".

[3] MS reads "grat", which *Mich* emends to "gra(n)t". *Pid*, *Az*: "grant", with no indication of emendation.

[4] *Pid*: "Condestable"; *Anac*:"Contestable".

[5] *Az*: "como".

{CB 461} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena para Daviuelo[1] que lo favorizasse.

Señor don Davi, pues carga tomastes
por vuestra mesura de ser mensajero,
buscad aparejos de buen marinero
pues sal e donayre* de Dios lo cobrastes;
por ende rryendo llegad sobre mesa[2]
delant’el[3] rrey alto seguiendo el enpresa[4],
ca non vi molino moler a rrepresa*
en cosa ninguna que vos començastes.

Fynida[5]

Si esto fazedes serán publicantes
los vuestros loores por mis consonantes
a rreyes e duques e condes e infantes,
dándovos graçias[6] por quanto afanast<e>s[7].

(Fol. 152v)
{CB 462} Este dezir fizo e ordeno el dicho Juan Alfonso de Baena para el infante[8] don Juan suplicándole e pidiéndole merçed de aguilando* para ayuda de una eredat que al sseñor rrey avié pedido.

Infante muy noble e muy rredutable*,
discreto, eçelente, cortés, generoso,
franco, esforçado, ardit, poderoso,
con todas noblezas señor venerable,
la vuestra grandeza muy alta, onorable,
se mienbre* del vuestro de los de Baena
que sufre trabajos e pasa grant pena
por non sser librado de vos tan notable.

---

[1] Mich: "Daniuelo".

[2] Mich: "sobremesa".

[3] Pid: "de-lant’el"

[4] Az: "empresa".

[5] Pid: "Ffynida".

[6] The abbreviated form of graçias is shown as "grras" with a tilde over the "a". I have omitted one of the r's as superfluous.

[7] MS reads "afanasts". Pid, Mich, Az: "afanastes", with no indication of emendation.

[8] Mich: "finante".

Fynida

Esto por quanto yo só bien librado
del noble, graçioso, el adelantado,
e del almirante, tanbién del onrrado
e muy venturoso, gentil condestable.

{CB 463} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena a don Diego Gómez de Sandovar, adelantado mayor de Castilla, pidiéndole favor e ayuda con el señor infante don Juan e d'él esso messmo[1].

C<a>vallero[2] esmerado,
rredotado*,
de virtudes d'eçelençia,
en batallas esforçado,
atentado*
con mucha magnificençia[3],
vuestro fecho muy famado,
tan granado,
que vençistes en Valençia
por el mundo es publicado,
rressonado[4],
de Pariz[5] fasta Florençia.

Por ende sseñor constante,
dominante,
cuerdo, noble, con sonsyego*,
con rreyes digno bastante,
ser pujante*,
dígolo syn otro juego:

---

[1] Pid, Az: "mesmo".

[2] MS reads "Cluallero" for "Cavallero". Pid, Mich: "Cavallero"; Az: "Caualllero", none with any indication of emendation.

[3] Pid, Az: "magnifiçençia".

[4] Mich, Az: "rresonado".

[5] Though we have made it our practice not to give variants dealing with the confusion between s and z, here it would be significant to do so since the MS clearly shows the "ς" with the characteristic elongated upper horizontal stroke. Though the difference between the "ʃ" , "s", and "ς" is almost always clear in the manuscript, here it appears that there is indeed confusion between the two sounds. This might reflect a regional pronunciation of the copyist who might have said [pa'riθ] instead of [pa'ris]. On the other hand, it could be a simple error in transcription. Nevertheless, we have kept to the MS reading. All previous editors, of course, have given "Paris", since they always transcribe "ς" mistakenly as "s".

plégavos sser suplicante
con talante*,
por mi onrra, por mi rruego,
al gentyl sseñor infante
enperante
que me libre luego luego[1]*.

Ca el rrey por la grandeza
e alteza
de su noble magestad
me libró de su rryqueza,
con franqueza,
por su grant rrealidad,
ordenando con nobleza
e rrealeza
la Pascua de Navidat,
que todos por gentileza,
con largueza,
me diessen un heredat.

Pues del infante onrrado,
illustrado,
muy leal e syn manzilla,
yo devo ser ayudado,
bien librado,
francamente syn manzilla
ca yo tengo ordenado,
un tractado[2]

---

[1] *Pid*, *Mich*, and *Az* have all inserted a comma between the two *luego*'s, which we believe is unnecessary.

[2] With respect to lines 39-44, *Az* makes the following observations:

> El orden ilógico de estos versos en el ms. es como sigue:
>
> muy leal e syn mansilla
> ca yo tengo ordenado
> bien librado
> yo deuo ser ayudado
> francamente syn mansilla
> vn tractado
>
> *Mich* lo transcribe así, rompiendo el esquema estrófico:
>
> muy leal e syn mansilla
> yo devo ser ayudado
> francamente syn mansilla
> ca yo tengo ordenado
> bien librado
> un tractado
>
> *Pid* y *Anac* tampoco son fieles a los esquemas adoptados en las estrofas anteriores, al darnos la siguiente lectura:

(continued...)

para el grant rrey de Castilla,
en el qual sera él loado
en tal grado
que suene fasta Sezylla.

Fynida

Por ende, vos, mesurado,
ssu privado,
capitán de grant quadrilla,
e señor muy arreado,
adelantado,
me firmad otra cartilla.

{CB 464} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena a la condessa de Castro pidiéndole favor.

Generossa, muy onrrosa,
linda doña Beatriz,
vos, graçiosa e fermosa,
(Fol. 153r)
bien sabedes commo fiz
un dezir metrificado
al notable, muy onrrado[1],
gran señor adelantado
por arte gentyl, gayosa.[2]

Pues garryda, muy polida,
luz e flor d'Avellaneda,

---

[2](...continued)

muy leal e syn mansilla
yo devo ser auydado
ca yo tengo ordenado
bien librado
francamente syn mansilla
vn tractado (*Az*, III, 935-36n.)

Our rendering of the text follows Azáceta's ordering of the lines.

[1] The word *onrrado* appears in the MS much smaller than the other words in the line and in another copyist's hand, leading us to believe that it was probably inserted later, possibly during proofreading of the MS, before its presentation to Juan II.

[2] *Mich* strays from the stanzaic pattern as given in the MS by assuming that what is the internal rhyme of a line implies an actual line-break. In *Mich* both stanzas of the poem follow the pattern set by the first stanza as follows: "Generossa, / muy onrrosa, / linda Doña Beatris, / vos, graçiosa / é fermosa, / bien sabedes commo fis / un desir metrificado / al notable, muy onrrado, / gran señor adelantado, / por arte gentyl, gayosa" (vol. II, p. 148).

muy guarnida, enrriqueçida,
bivades syenpre muy leda
por la carga que tomastes
quando mi carta librastes:
acabad pues començastes,
dueña muy enobleçida.

Fynida

Por ende yo soplicando,
las vuestras manos besando[1],
señora, merçed demando
pues s'acerca[2] la partida.

{CB 465} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena a Juan Carr<y>llo[3] de Toledo pidiéndole favor e ayuda sobre la merçed que pidyó al señor infante don Juan.

Muy graçioso cavallero,
Juan Carryllo de Toledo,
con mesura quanta[4] puedo
omillando mi sonbrero
vos enbío un enbolt<e>rio[5]*
con pressente desdonado,
pero sea perdonado
ca sabed que desespero.

Muy donosso cavallero,
Juan Carryllo de Toledo,

---

[1] MS reads "bensando". Pid: "bessando"; Mich, Az: "besando", with no indication of the original reading.

[2] Pid, Az: "s'açerca".

[3] MS reads "carrello", though it appears that an attempt was made to erase the e. Pid, Mich, Az: "Carryllo", with no indication of emendation. We have chosen to transcribe "Carr<y>llo" rather than "Carr<i>llo" because, although the latter spelling is seen to exist in the next poem, and although i and y are more or less interchangeable in medieval Castilian orthography, the former, i.e. "Carryllo" is the only spelling given in this poem.

[4] Anac: "quanto".

[5] MS reads "enboltorio". Az notes the irregular rhyme (III, 938n.). Cf. footnote to CB 456, l. 20.

apuntat bien con el dedo[1]
syn leer Chino nin fuero,
e creed al escudero,
gentyl onbre bien criado,
muy cortés e mesurado,
que vos va por mensagero.

Muy onrroso cavallero,
Juan Carryllo de Toledo,
passo a passo, quedo a quedo*
vos andat este sendero,
e con gesto plazentero
suplicad al muy loado
lyndo infante illustrado
que mande a su thesorero.

Fynida

Muy famoso cavallero,
bien rrequiere a su estado
qu'él[2] rreçiba[3] gasajado
en me dar de su dinero.

{CB 466} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena al dicho Juan Carryllo de Toledo loando e publicando sus leales serviçios que fizo e grandes trabajos que tomó por serviçio del rrey nuestro[4] señor, yendo e viniendo a Aragón e a Navarra sobre la paz de todos ellos.

Señor Juan Carrillo[5], ventura e audaçia
ovistes del çielo conplida en la tierra,
e sesso discreto con linpia sagaçia
e grant lealtança que todo bien çierra;
pues vos procurastes syn falta e falaçia
que fuese çesada la muy cruel guerra

---

[1] Pid has accidentally left out eight lines from ll. 11-18, i.e., the last six lines of this stanza and the first two of the next, such that when the reader turns from p. 501 to p. 502, the poem continues at the third line of the third stanza. Because the error occurs at the turn of a page, it can probably be attributed to the typesetters instead of the editors. This error is consequently found in Anac.

[2] Mich: "que l'rreçiba".

[3] Pid: "rreciba".

[4] Pid: "nostro".

[5] Pid: "Carillo".

de dos rreyes nobles, conplidos[1] de graçia,
que se començava afuer d'Inglaterra[2].

Señor Juan Carryllo, muy bien trabajastes
noches e días por los castellanos,
e muy lealmente por ellos penastes
andando caminos por syerras e llanos;
lo qual se vos nota en más que pensastes
por moros, judíos e por los christianos,
pues en breve tienpo[3] assy concordastes
a dos rreyes primos que son commo[4] hermanos.

Señor Juan Carryllo, los grandes afanes
que vos padeçistes en este mensage,
testigos ay muchos syn los catalanes
que vos nobleçieron la onrra e lynaje;
ca diez carros d'oro nin mill jazaranes*
non vos dotarán tan rrico fardaje,
nin rrossas, nin flores, nin los arrayanes*
non vos pintarán[5] tan lyndo plumaje.

(Fol. 153v)
Señor Juan Carryllo, non es maravilla
por vos aver fecho tan alto serviçio,
qu'el muy poderosso e rrey[6] de Castilla
vos faga merçedes e dé rryco offyçio,
e puje en alteza la vuestra quadrilla
tomando por ello plazer e grant viçio,
queryendo que suene allende Ssevilla
ssu alta franqueza del tal benefiçio.

Señor Juan Carryllo, la tynta conpuesta[7]
con oro, azul d'Acre[8]* e fynas colores,
yo tengo buscada e lengua bien presta
para publicar los muchos loores

---

[1] Az: "complidos".

[2] Pid: "Inglatierra".

[3] Az: "tiempo".

[4] Az: "como".

[5] Mich: "picaran".

[6] Pid: "poderosso Rrey", omitting the conjunction "e" between these two words. Az also notes the omission (III, 940n.).

[7] The "u" of "conpuesta" is written in superscript in the codex.

[8] Mich: "con oro, asul, dacre..."

de los rreyes altos por la rryca fiesta
que fazen en Toro pujando en onores[1]
al grant cavallero, la qual magnifiesta*
que fazen su<s>[2] obras commo[3] enperadores[4].

Señor Juan Carryllo, que[5] tal ora ssea
por vos açeptado aquesto que ffyz
con gesto muy ledo, ssyn saña e pelea,
por non sser pintado con fyno matyz,
que aya yo parte e vista lybrea[6]*
del conde muy franco de Castroxeryz,
e de la lynda muy más que Medea
condessa muy noble do<ñ>a[7] Beatriz.

Fynida

Señor Juan Carryllo, anpare e provea
la rreyna del çielo, grande enperatriz,
al conde e condessa, e syenpre[8] los vea
de fijos e nietos quedar ssu rrayz.

(Fol. 153v)
{CB 467} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena a Rruyz Díaz de Mendoça el Calvo pidiéndole favor para con el señor infante.

Por quanto es notorio en toda Castilla
que vos, el provado para en toda boça*,
fydalgo Rruy Díaz de los de Mendoça,
obrastes fazañas de grant maravilla
andando en la guerra con la grant quadrilla
del muy venturosso señor esforçado,

---

[1] Anac: "orores".

[2] MS reads "su", the version found in Mich. Pid, Az: "sus", with no indication of emendation.

[3] Pid, Az: "como".

[4] Az: "emperadores".

[5] Mich: "qu'e(n)".

[6] Pid: "librea".

[7] MS reads "dona". Pid, Mich, Az: "doña", with no indication of emendation.

[8] Az: "syempre".

e buen cavallero, el adelantado,
allá en Arragón[1], tanbién en Sezilla.

Por ende me plaze ssyn otra dudança
de vuestros loores notar un estoria,
que fynque por syenpre escripto[2] en memoria
e ayan los nobles de vos rremenbrança[3]*,
e sea nonbrada[4] jamás vuestra lança
en todas las partes do fuere leyda,
e luego será por todos sabyda
la vuestra nobleza e grant lealtança.

Fynida

Pero en tanto que fago mis prosas
por lindas palabras muy generosas,
besalde por mí las manos fermosas
al gentyl infante con grant omildança.

{CB 468} Este dezir fizo Juan Alfonso de Baena a Juan Carryllo de Ormaza pidiéndole favor e ayuda con el señor infante.

Señor Juan Carryllo, el rrey de Castilla
e todos los gra<n>des[5] d'aqueste rreynado
vos han por fidalgo gentyl, esforçado,
e buen cavallero syn otra manzilla,
e son los testigos toda la frontera,
Xetenil e Zaarra, Canche[6] e Antequera,
e Málaga e Rronda, Cañete[7] e Olvera,
adonde provastes a grant maravilla.

Señor Juan Carryllo, los fechos gentiles
que syenpre[8] feçistes por mar e por tierra,

---

[1] Pid, Mich, Az: "Aragon".

[2] Pid: "escripta".

[3] Az: "rremembrança".

[4] Az: "nombrada".

[5] MS reads "grades". Like us, Mich emended to "gra(n)des". Pid, Az: "grandes", with no indication of emendation.

[6] Pid: "Conche".

[7] Mich: "Cavente".

[8] Az: "syempre".

asy en Castilla commo[1] Inglaterra,
en Françia e Valençia, por armas sotiles,
dan testimonio que vuestra ventura,
cuerpo, ardideza, esfuerço e soltura,
sesso e nobleza, cryança e mesura,
es ssemejante del muy lyndo Archiles.

Fynida

Señor Juan Carryllo, por ende vos rruego
que por gentyleza acorrades luego,
que ante sseñores,[2] en burla o en juego,
mucho aprovechan[3] los buenos alfiles.

---

[1] *Az*: "como".

[2] MS reads "antes señores" showing the final *s* of the first word and the initial *s* of the second word clearly separated. It is almost certain, given the context, that the final *s* of "antes" is actually the first letter of the following word, such that the text should read "...ante sseñores, en burla o en juego...", as *Mich* rendered it. *Pid* and *Az* both rendered the text "...antes, señores, en burla o en juego...".

[3] *Mich* shows the unnecessary emendation "aprovecha(n)".

(For criteria concerning the compiling and formatting of these notes, see Section V, Part C of the preliminary chapters, "Basic Formatting Standards in this Edition".)

CB 037

rúb. "bien quebrantado e plañido": bien hecho al estilo de los plantos

rúb. negocio: Obsérvese cómo Baena considera el acto de escribir su planto como 'negocio', algo frío, planeado, sin emoción, lo cual remite en parte a la función de la poesía cortesana. Es un papel necesario que al poeta le incumbe desempeñar, ya que el acontecimiento de la muerte del rey--y el protocolo--lo exigen.

11 rretaço: 'retazo', fig., trozo o fragmento de un razonamiento o discurso

13 abrojos: piezas de hierro con púas; se diseminaban por el terreno para dificultar el paso al enemigo

16 preçes: 'preces', oraciones dirigidas a Dios, la Virgen o los santos

17 perentoria: concluyente, decisiva

26 sobejo: Pid (718), "excesivo, sobrado, demasiado"

34 cuytados: 'cuitados', afligidos, desventurados

37 mesylla: 'mesilla', reprensión dada con poca seriedad o por chanza

38 guayen: 'guayar', Pid (713), "decir guay, que es exclamación de dolor"

43 despenseros: 'despensero', persona encargada de la despensa, donde se guardaban los alimentos

44 rrecabdadores: 'recabdador', recaudador

45 aposentadores: 'aposentador', que tiene por oficio aposentar

47 rreposteros: 'repostero', que tiene por oficio hacer pastas, dulces y algunas bebidas

48 estrados: 'estrado', entre panaderos, entablado en que se ponen los panes amasados; **tañedores:** 'tañedor', persona que hace sonar la campana o que tañe un instrumento musical

50 devissa: Según DCECH (II: 507), "parte de la herencia paterna".

51 xergas: 'jerga', tela gruesa y tosca; **syssa:** 'sisa'. En la Edad Media fue impuesto sobre los comestibles. Según DCECH "la sisa solía ser sobre las vituallas y se hacía efectiva disminuyendo el tamaño de las medidas en vigor, de suerte que el vendedor había de pagar a las autoridades el importe de la cantidad de víveres que así pagaba, pero no recibía el público" (V: 262). De ahí, la asociación de 'sisa' con 'defraudación', y el origen de la definición moderna de 'sisa' como defraudación efectuada por parte de los sirvientes en sus compras diarias.

54 **pesquisa:** información, indagación

57 **de vysso:** 'de viso', del lat. de visu, 'obviamente', 'que puede comprobarse con los ojos'

CB 80

04 **"troben limado":** escriban versos con mucho cuidado; los pulan hasta que brillen

09 **despienda:** 'despender'; fig., emplear, gastar una cosa

19 **menestales:** 'menestrales', persona que trabaja en un oficio mecánico

20 **xastre:** 'sastre'

22 **rremendón:** 'remendón', que tiene por oficio remendar

26 **costales:** 'costal', saco grande

27 **ostales:** 'hostal', Pid (716), "posada, mesón, hospedería"

CB 81

05 **rrespenda:** 'respender', responder

12 **prebenda:** renta aneja a un canonicato u otro oficio eclesiástico

16 **"artes de alta calenda":** La calenda fue el primer día de cada mes en el calendario romano y día de fiesta. También fue la lección del martirologio romano, con los nombres y hechos de los santos de cada día. Por lo tanto, 'artes de alta calenda' serán artes apropiadas para un gran día de fiesta, a saber, artes rebuscadas.

26 **atabales:** 'atabal'; tamborcillo o tamboril

27 **quintas:** 'quinta', en la música, intervalo cuyos sonidos están separados por cuatro grados

28 **madexa:** 'madeja'; **cuenda:** cierto cordoncillo de hilos que recoge y divide la madeja para que no se enmarañe

31 **toroçón:** 'torozón', 'torzón'; dolor de vientre padecido por los animales; en el presente contexto, 'inflamación', 'dolor'

33 **"polvos de hienda":** Lo grotesco de la comida que le preparará Baena empieza a hacerse más claro aquí con los polvos de 'hienda', a saber, de 'estiércol' (Morgan 54).

34 **festes:** 'feste'. Palabra cuya significación confunde a la crítica. Corominas supone que será sinónimo de 'pizca' o 'comino' (LBA 487c). El mismo añade que, usado en un contexto culinario, "muestra el sentido de ingrediente poco apreciado dentro de una comida." Por extensión, el profesor José Jurado de la Universidad de Carleton (Ottawa) cree que

'feste' será algún tubérculo, parecido a la patata o batata del Nuevo Mundo (conversación de 1986).

El contexto de 'feste' deja creer que es algo redondo o esferoide, pequeño y comestible. Derek Carr de la Universidad de British Columbia propone que se tratará de una especie de trufa u hongo relacionada con la palabra italiana fistulina, derivada etimológicamente del latín fistula: "something of a vaguely cylindrical shape, possibly edible, though of unpleasant (putrid?) taste or smell" (cita de sus comentarios sobre la presente tesis). Morgan, en su tesis doctoral de 1974, discute esta palabra extensivamente y alude a un doble sentido cómico de 'hez', 'zurullo', 'cagada' ("turd", pág. 53). Este sentido se ve sobre todo en CB 363v12, "sabed que vos mando de mula pardilla / dozena de festes en el quadruplique". El contexto de CB 392v39 nos permite creer otra vez que es algo poco apreciado en la comida, según la interpretación de Corominas. Combinando los dos sentidos aparentes de la palabra, Morgan concluye así: "The above references to the comestible quality of festes are understandable, considering its context in the Cancionero, but within the burlesque tradition of low comedy, 'an ingredient which is little appreciated in a meal' is somewhat of an understatement" (p.55), sobre todo al considerar la amenaza insinuada de esta composición.

CB 160

24 **ssynrazón:** 'sinrazón', acción hecha contra justicia y fuera de lo razonable o debido

35 **gasajado:** Pid (713), "placer, contentamiento"

CB 161

02 **azedo:** 'acedo', áspero

03 **denuedo:** brío, esfuerzo, valor

12 **see:** 'sede'

19 **"A lo ál...":** 'En cuanto a la otra cosa...'

29 **yerto:** dícese del viviente, o de una parte del cuerpo que se ha quedado rígida a consecuencia del frío

34 **anexos:** 'anejos', agregados

35 **"cornado / foradado":** moneda agujereado, algo de muy poco valor

39 **terná:** 'tendrá'; **tea:** astilla o raja de madera muy impregnada en resina y que, encendida, alumbra como un hacha

49 **çendal:** 'cendal', tela de seda fina

50 **trastravado:** 'trastrabado', dícese del caballo o yegua que tiene blancos la mano izquierda y el pie derecho, o viceversa

68 **limado:** Véase la nota a CB 80v04

CB 179

rúb. espinar: en sentido figurativo, 'dificultad, enredo'

05 ufano: satisfecho, alegre

06 quito: *Pid* (717), "libre, suelto, desembarazado"

14 "luego luego": muy pronto

27 afano: me esfuerzo

CB 180

rúb. travar: comenzar una batalla, conversación, etc.; se usa en sentido figurativo

rúb. escandidos: en el arte de versificar, 'bien medidos'

04 rrosca: 'rosca', pan redondo y rollizo que, cerrándose, deja en medio un espacio vacío; **mediano:** fig. y fam., 'de mala calidad'

06 bola: 'vola', vuela

13 toscano: de Toscana, centro importante en la fabricación de papel de alta calidad en el siglo XV

14 "por pitarvos el tolano": Corominas en su *Dicc. crítico etimológico* supone que "*pitarvos* será errata por *pintarvos* y que esta frase significará 'poneros de vuelta y media', 'pintaros como un idiota con bocio, o como un animal con tolanos'" (V: 531).

22 palençiano: 'palanciano', 'palaciano', cortés; Schmid en su *Wortschatz* (124): "noble, excelente"

26 desplano: de 'desplanar'; *Wortschatz* (64): "declarar, explicar". Cf. *Las Trescientas* de Jn. de Mena (ed. de Blecua), copla 144h.

CB 260

01 asogue: mercurio

04 albogue: especie de dulzaina, instrumento pastoril de viento

07 barafunda: 'barahúnda'

10/11 çiará: 'ciar', remar hacia atrás

14 pryeto: 'prieto', negro

15 atranco: 'atrancar', atascar, obstruir

44 "fue<l>la el sable": 'afollar', según Corominas y Pascual, "herir, estropear, echar a perder" (III: 377); 'sable' es un tipo de espada; en el presente contexto la frase significará 'armarse con el sable'.

CB 261

01 yogue: 1ª pers. sing. del pret. de 'yacer', según la indicación de Menéndez Pidal en su Gram. hist., párr. 120.3.

03 asconso: p.p. de 'asconder', encubierto, escondido

04 trogue: por analogía a 'yogue', del latín *traxui, de traxi, 'traje', 1ª pers. sing. del pret. de 'traer', según Menéndez Pidal, Gram. hist., párr. 120.3.

05 derrogue: según Wortschatz (61), portuguesismo, "anular, abolir; sustituir preceptos o leyes con otros"

06 rreunda: 'rehunda', de 'rehundir', hundir o sumergir a lo más profundo

07 circunda: rodea

08 coyunda: correa o soga con que se uncen los bueyes

12 me desflemo: de 'desflemarse', echar, expeler las flemas

13 me apostemo: de 'apostemarse', llenarse de postemas

14 çanco: 'zanco'

15 escanco: Sin duda, una corrupción de 'escanto', a saber, 'embrujo', 'hechicería', como en la copla 709b del Libro de buen amor, "Le faré tal escanto..." Ningún crítico ha comentado la voz 'escanco'.

17 barrunto: de 'barruntar', prever, conjeturar o presentir por alguna señal o indicio

20 barranco: despeñadero, precipicio

25 borruna: Pid (707) señala que "equivale a pesado, fastidioso, chabacano, y parece tomado de mosén Borra, bufón de Alonso V de Aragón." Schmid en su Wortschatz (37) lo define como "desmañado, torpe".

28 mazobre: 'manzobre', que según Navarro Tomás era una técnica poética donde figuraba "[la] asociación de vocablos derivados de la misma raíz" (189). A manera de ilustración, el mismo cita dos ejemplos aparecidos en el Cancionero del siglo XV de Foulché-Delbosc, núms. 17 y 18 respectivamente: "Ay, dolor del dolorido", "Su grand culpa lo desculpa".

30 coluna: 'columna', voz militar que significa 'compañía'

40 barquino: especie de fuelle grande que según Pid (707), en "estilo chocarrero", significará 'vientre'.

CB 264

08 maza: objeto que, por diversión, se ata a la cola de los animales o se prende en los vestidos de una persona

CB 265

01 **seguida:** voz relacionada quizá con "seguidilla", una composición métrica, o con sentido más amplio, cualquier obra escrita

08 **guarida:** refugio

12 **d'oçida:** *Pid* (716), indica que 'ocida', que significa 'caída', sale del latín *occidere*, 'morir' y que 'tañer d'oçida' quiere decir "tocar a degüello o a muerte". Los perros que "[tañerán] d'oçida" son los que, confrontados con la mona, ladrarán antes de comerla, como la campana que se tañe a la muerte de una persona.

CB 267

05 **après:** *Pid* (705), 'después', señalando que "parece derivado del francés *après*".

CB 357

10 **conpaña:** 'compañía'

19 **"paño de tyrytaña":** tela endeble de seda

23 **jahezes:** 'jaeces'; cada país o región tenía su propio modo de poner el jaez al caballo

27 **malenconía:** *Wortschatz* (109), "enojo, disgusto". Será sinónimo del moderno 'encono'.

29 **zizaña:** 'cizaña', fig., disensión o enemistad

30 **rrascaña:** de 'rascañar', *Pid* (717), "rasguñar, rascar con fuerza"

36 **sse apaña:** 'apañarse', recoger y guardar alguna cosa, o apoderarse de ella ilícitamente; en el contexto presente, 'que de risa está cogido'

CB 358

18 **arenga:** razonamiento largo, impertinente y enfadoso

23 **aguilando:** 'aguinaldo', regalo que se da en Navidad o en la Epifanía

31 **pleyteses:** 'pleiteses', pleitos

32 **ella:** del latín *illa*, 'esa', 'aquella'; dio origen al artículo definitivo *la*; en el sentido demostrativo es ya arcaísmo en el siglo XV; según las indicaciones de Menéndez Pidal en su *Gram. hist.* (párr. 100.2), esta ocurrencia del vocablo pudiera ser leonesismo. Comenta al respecto: "--illa *ela* (ela casa; levar ela meatad), forma perdida temprano en Castilla, pero usada en León aún en el siglo XIV), simplificada la *-ll-* por influencia del masculino *el*, y abreviado en *la* generalmente, salvo ante nombres que empiezan por vocal, especialmente *a-*, con los cuales se abreviaba en *el*

o *ell* (ell alma, el alimosna, el otra, del estoria); Nebrija aun podía decir de tres modos: *la espada*, *el espada*, *ell espada*; pero luego se admitió *el* tan sólo en el caso de que siguiese *á-* acentuada..."

34 pujeses: 'pugés', *Pid* (717) lo define como "puñada, golpe dado con el puño". *Wortschatz* (134), "parece ser alguna cosa pequeña que se mete en el ojo". Estamos más de acuerdo con la definición de Pidal. Es muy posible que Juan Alfonso de Baena escogiera "quatorze" como número de "pugeses" en el ojo por el simple hecho de que ese vocablo trisilábico se ajustara bien a la métrica del verso.

36 sorraben: de 'sorrabar', *Pid* (719), "mirar debajo del rabo a un animal"; véase *CB* 385v29

CB 359

05 alfenique: 'alfeñique', pasta de azúcar cocida y estirada en barras muy delgadas y retorcidas

09-10 "*unicuique* / *data es graçia*": Aquí Baena se refiere a las palabras de san Pablo citadas en la rúbrica de su Prólogo: "Unicuique graçia est data ssecundum Paulum relata" (vol. 1, pág. 3). Baena dice que uno puede versificar bien sólo si ha recibido el don "por graçia infusa del señor Dios" (vol. 1, pág. 14).

20 baque: golpe que da el cuerpo o cualquier otra cosa pesada cuando cae; **tronpique:** de 'trompicar', hacer a uno tropezar violenta y repetidamente. Buena ilustración de la tradición burlesca de la cual sale esta poesía. Es de notar que se usan estas palabras en sentido figurativo en el contexto de composiciones poéticas cuya meta es de atacar al adversario con "golpes" verbales.

CB 360

08 molifique: 'molificar', ablandar, suavizar

16 "fumo d'espique": Corominas y Pascual (II: 746) dicen: "*espique* (*Gr. Conq. de Ultr.*, 352), tomado del cat. *espic* [S. XIII, *Costumbres de Tortosa*, ed. Oliver, p. 389], y en una escritura mozárabe toledana se lee *'aspíqura*..., que puede representar el lat. SPĪCŬLA 'nuez moscada', diminutivo de SPICA." Será sin duda el humo aromático que sale de la cáscara de esta nuez cuando se la quema.

17 pedrique: *Wortschatz* (126), indica que la palabra está relacionado con otros vocablos derivados del verbo *predicar* que, por metátesis de algunas letras, da "pedricar" y "pedricador".

20 atrifinque: *Pid* (706): "Las judías de la costa de Africa usan cierto instrumento de hierro, con el cual se enarcan y ennegrecen las cejas unas a otras. *Atrifinque*, pues, pudiera venir de atrificare, ennegrecer o poner negra una cosa."

CB 361

15 enpulgo: 'empulgar', armar la ballesta

16 untrique: latín corrompido por utrimque, utrinque, 'de los dos lados'

17 farlique: Pid (712): "Parece ser algún son o tocata, así llamada."

CB 362

02 cucrillo: 'cuclillo'

03 neguilla: del lat. nigella, 'negruzca'; según el Wortschatz (p. 119), significa 'pupila', el negro del ojo

05 danifique: 'danificar', Pid (709), "dapnifycar" significa 'dañar'

10 fablilla: se refiere a la fábula del Libro de buen amor titulado "Enxiemplo de lo que conteció a don Pitas Payas, pintor de Bretaña" (coplas 474-489), recogiendo la metáfora del cuclillo introducida en el verso 2 de este texto. Esta alusión indica que la obra del Arcipreste de Hita estaba ya muy extendida entre los letrados del siglo XV. El Marqués de Santillana, por ejemplo, se refiere al "libro del Archipreste de Hita" en su Proemio de 1449 (pág. 36). Además, la edición moderna de LBA se basa principalmente en tres manuscritos: el manuscrito S, el más reciente de estos tres, es de principios del siglo XV, según las indicaciones de Corominas (LBA, pág. 29). Otro, el manuscrito G, fue copiado unos treinta años antes, en los últimos años del siglo XIV (pág. 29). Por añadidura, tampoco es de negar que el cuento de Pitas Payas se hubiera extendido oralmente, pues la tradición oral, de donde este "enxiemplo" sin duda surgió, es importantísima en la trasmisión de la cultura popular en la Edad Media.

12 nique: 'nicar', Pid (716), "fornicar, suprimida la primera sílaba." Morgan indica lo mismo (59).

13 chazminique: Voz desconocida, quizá disparatada. Wortschatz (55) lo transcribe con interrogación.

14 Mesta: Según DCECH, en los siglos XIV y XV significa "junta de pastores y dueños de ganado" (IV: 57). Sin duda es una referencia al Honrado Concejo de la Mesta, el cual, según Espasa 1 (1069), "agrupó a todos los ganaderos de Castilla, y posteriormente de Aragón, aparece ya estructurado en tiempos de Alfonso X ([año de] 1273)... La Mesta cuidaba del buen estado de las tres cañadas reales: leonesa, segoviana y manchega. Gobernada de hecho por la nobleza, estaba integrada por los llamados hermanos, que se reunían periódicamente.... La época de su mayor esplendor abarca desde el s. XIII al XVI."

16 çiquezique: 'ciquecique'. Pid (708) indica que "parece voz caprichosamente formada para llenar la rima." Potvin, basándose en el comentario de Manuel Alvar, dice que 'çiquezique' será igual "[aux] désignations actuelles telles que triquitriqui ou foquifoqui qui sont aussi des euphémismes indiquant la fornication" (155).

CB 363

01 "vos gique": '¿gicar?'; Wortschatz (93) da la palabra 'gique' con el contexto pero sin definición. Será probablemente un ejemplo de los varios "disparates" a que aluden Morgan (52) y Potvin (162-63).

02 "cul cassilla": Morgan señala que 'cul' será variante de 'culo'(59). 'Casilla' según DCECH (I: 902) es la persona "que limpia en Palacio los vasos inmundos". Parece no tener sentido en el contexto del verso (véase la nota al verso 1) pero, al mismo tiempo, es una alusión escatológica evidente que sirve como ejemplo de lo que Potvin describe como "les plaisanteries scatologiques liées aux fonctions de ce que Bakhtine appelle le 'bas corporel'"(154). Además, en su estudio, indica que este tipo de alusión es otra muestra del elemento carnavalesco inherente del debate poético de la época: "avilissement, rabaissement des débats de type 'sérieux' dont on se moque bien" (156).

03 rezmilla: Otra referencia escatológica (véase CB 363v02). Según DCECH (IV: 30), "se llamó rezmilla el glande con el prepucio vuelto, y luego el glande en general, voz que ya aparece en el S. XV, en el Canc. de Baena..."

07 digesta: digerida

08 "señor, medio puto vos queda el taxbique": Otro verso disparatado que contiene alusión sexual, 'puto'. No queda claro la relación de 'puto' con taxbique, 'tabique', un tipo de pared. Véase la nota a CB 363v02.

12 festes: Véase CB 81v34.

15 "jugar de traspuesta": 'traspuesta' significa fuga u ocultación de una persona; 'jugar al escondite'

16 "fijo del rey don E<n>rrique": el rey don Juan II

17 fforgique: 'forgicar'; Pid (712), "forcejear, hacer fuerza." Estamos de acuerdo con Wortschatz (88) que lo define como "frecuentativo de forjar", con sentido figurativo de 'inventar'.

20 despelique: de 'despelicar'; según Pid (710): "desplumar, arrancar el pelo"

CB 364

02 "costal de gargajos": saco de flemas

03 brevajos: 'brebajes', del fr. breuvage; bebida compuesta de ingredientes desagradables

CB 365

01 ffrontino: dícese del animal que tiene algún señal en la frente

02 torçino: Del verbo 'torcer'. Voz no mencionada por ningún lexicógrafo. Se relacionaría probablemente con las palabras 'torcido' y 'tuerto', con significación semejante. El contexto da a entender que es alguna deformación o enfermedad física--real o ficticia--padecida por el contrincante.

03-04 "sus neçios afanes e locos trabajos, / es porque-l tengo por trobador fino": La sintaxis de estos dos versos queda un poco confusa. Sin duda, Villasandino quiere decir: "Esto es porque-l tengo por trobador fino: por sus neçios afanes e locos trabajos."

05 tohino: Pid (719), "Quizá lo mismo que tocino, en la acepción de puerco u cerdo, que es la propia y primitiva de dicha palabra." Schmid en su Wortschatz lo transcribe con interrogación (155). Corominas y Pascual (V: 529) dicen que la primera documentación de esta palabra fue en 1587, más o menos siglo y medio después de su aparición en el Cancionero. Se tratará evidentemente de algún baldón de significado oscuro que Villasandino dirige a Juan Alfonso de Baena.

08 "cuervo merino": 'cuervo marino'

CB 366

01 flemón: Continuación de la imagen de Villasandino como "costal de gargajos" (CB 364v02). Significa 'lleno de flemas'.

02 "çurón de tassajos": 'zurrón de tasajos', saco de carne secada; la implicación es 'cuerpo seco y viejo'

06 alfaja: 'alhaja'

09 merino: juez que se ponía por el rey en un territorio, en donde tenía jurisdicción amplia

10 pandero: Es juego de palabra. Instrumento rústico de percusión; en sentido peyorativo, persona necia y que habla mucho.

12 pollino: borrico

CB 367

01 çetrino: 'cetrino', melancólico y adusto

02 ffydiondo: 'hediondo'; **"sudor de grajos":** 'grajo' es una ave que se alimenta de basura; en Latinoamérica conserva su significado antiguo de 'olor desagradable que se desprende del sudor'.

04 ansanrino: pollo del ánsar; aquí en sentido peyorativo

05 **fforniçino:** 'fornicino'; Pid (712), "el que comete fornicio"; Wortshchatz (88) ofrece la definición más contextualizada de "degenerado, bastardo"

06 **sorondaja:** 'zarandaja'; Pid (719), "cosa menuda y de poco valor"

07 **meaja:** moneda antigua de poco valor

08 **chazino:** 'chacino', voz relacionada con 'chacina', a saber, 'cecina', carne desecada

10 **"de majar do maja":** ejemplo del arte de "manzobre" (véase CB 261v28); significa 'molestar, cansar, importunar'

11 **çedo:** galleguismo, 'pronto'; **mortaja:** vestidura en que se envuelve el cadáver para el sepulcro; Villasandino amenaza a Baena que se prepare a morir si no deja de insultarlo

CB 368

02 **rrendajos:** Pid (717), "lo perteneciente a riendas"

04 **estentyno:** 'intestino', por metátesis

05 **mohino:** dícese del macho o mula hijos de caballo y burra; 'mestizo, bastardo', en sentido peyorativo

06 **trastaja:** de 'trastajar'; según Pid (720), lo mismo que 'tartajear'

07 **desgaja:** de 'desgajar', desgarrar

10 **rodaja:** pieza circular y plana, de madera, metal u otra materia

11 **"cuba e tynaja":** son tipos de jarras

12 **tiñosso:** 'tiñoso', que padece tiña; otra imagen de suciedad; **contyno:** Espasa 1 dice que es una forma antigua de continuo, pero en el presente contexto, parece más bien una voz usada para describir a una persona que padece alguna infección o enfermedad.

CB 369

03 **rrymito:** Wortschatz (139), sigue la transcripción de Pid y Az, dando "rrymico". Lo define como "rítmico"; **gracismo:** Pid (713), "grecismo, arte griega".

CB 370

04 **çetros:** "centros", según las ediciones de Pidal y Michel; **"çirculo estante":** expresión de significado nebuloso, pero parece ser alusión a la concepción del universo como una serie de esferas que encierran los unos a los otros según la astronomía ptolemaica. Además es posible que el poeta se refiera a un 'çírculo' en particular, el 'estante', a saber, la esfera de la tierra.

06 **doctó:** *Wortschatz* (67), "dotar"; **"abto profeccta":** 'alto profeta', como 'abtyvos' (*CB* 377v51). Este verso demuestra una serie de etimologías falsas evidentes en la ortografía escogida por el poeta. El poeta quiere dar un sabor delicado y rebuscado a sus versos cuyo sujeto es de por sí 'esotérico' o 'cortés'.

10 **"que nunca querades, amigo, salvalla":** *Aut.* propone una definición de 'salvar' que equivale a 'no tocar': "Se toma tambien por no tocar, ò no llegar à una cosa, passando por encima ò mui cerca de ella." Podemos resolver el negativo doble de 'nunca queráis no tocarla' (en lenguaje moderno) a 'aunque queráis tocarla'.

CB 371

03 **inforismo:** *Pid* (714), "idea, argumento, metáfora"
09 **cavalgante:** caballero

CB 372

03 **algurismo:** de 'guarismo', "cifra que expresa una cantidad", según *DCECH* (III: 249). Corominas indica que *algurismo* es "el arte de contar, aritmética" y que viene del nombre de un matemático árabe, Al-huwārizmî, "cuyas traducciones introdujeron la aritmética en la Europa medieval" (III: 249). Su nombre dio origen a la palabra moderna 'algoritmo'. Es de notar aquí que el poeta establece cierta relación entre la poesía y la aritmética. En esa época, el arte poética se llamaba "gaya *ciencia*" (el énfasis es nuestro). Como la aritmética, la poesía debe ser un todo cerrado, lógico, metódico.

07 **rreta:** 'recta'
11 **contralla:** 'contraria'

CB 373

02 **gargarismo:** licor que sirve para hacer gárgaras; metáfora para el poema que Juan Alfonso ha escrito como respuesta a Ferrant Manuel de Lando. Es peyorativa y tiende a disminuir el valor del poema.

07 **"cota cachada e ffyna careta":** partes de la armadura que llevaba un caballero en la Edad Media. Véase *CB* 379v29.

CB 374

02 **ezorzismo:** 'exorcismo'
07 **pryeta:** 'prieta'; véase *CB* 260v14

12 **"mal devisante":** de 'divisar', discernir; significa 'que no ve bien'

CB 375

02 **yllusa:** 'ilusa', ilusoria, engañosa
08 **lydesçe:** Pid (715), galleguismo, "alegría, contento"

CB 377

02 **"de tal<a>nte":** de grado
49 **letygantes:** 'litigantes'
51 **abtyvos:** 'altivos', orgullosos, soberbiosos
58 **envyssos:** 'enviso'; Pid (711), "avisado, cuerdo, prudente"; **fallençia:** falta, deficiencia
59 **ssabençia:** sabiduría
62 **lybeldo:** 'libelo'
64 **"syete planetas":** los siete cuerpos celestiales conocidos hasta entonces: el sol, la luna, Mercurio, Venus, Marte, Júpiter, Saturno
79 **comide:** de 'comedir'; según Wortschatz (47), significa "pensar, meditar"
88 **cor:** voz ant. 'corazón'. También pudiera ser un juego de palabras al estilo provenzal donde 'cor' tenía el doble sentido carnal y espiritual de 'cuerpo' y 'corazón'.
104 **perentoria:** Véase CB 37v17.

CB 378

11 **çapera:** 'zapera', Pid (709), "fruncimiento de cejas"
18 **talabartes:** cinturón que lleva pendientes los tiros de que cuelga el sable o la espada
19 **pyllartes:** 'pillarte', Pid (717), "ratero, cortabolsas, pillo (del lat. bárb. *pillator,* de *pillare* por *expilare,* correr el campo robando, saquear)"

CB 379

26 **"jugar a las cañas":** metafóricamente, 'debate poético'. Según Espasa 1 (315), 'las cañas' eran una "fiesta de a caballo en que diferentes cuadrillas hacían varias escaramuzas, arrojándose recíprocamente las cañas, de que se resguardaban con las adargas".
29 **careta:** la armadura que se ponía sobre la cara
30 **barreta:** Pid (706), "yelmo, casquete de hierro para cubrir y defender la cabeza: gorra, birrete"

31 **alazano:** también 'alazán'; dícese especialmente del caballo o yegua que tiene el pelo del color más o menos rojo, o muy parecido al de la canela

32 **ruano:** 'roano', 'ruán'; dícese del caballo o yegua cuyo pelo está mezclado de blanco, gris y bayo

33 **"cota cachada, braçales e guantes":** partes de la armadura de un caballero

CB 380

03 **costelado:** Pid (708), part. pas. de costelar, es lo mismo que destinado por constelación

10 **guarnido:** guarnecido

16 **milano:** azor

20 **toscano:** Véase CB 180v13.

CB 382

10 **esquena:** Pid (712): "la enfermedad llamada garrotillo, y por los franceses esquinancie"; a saber, difteria

11 **albur:** mújel, pez común del Mediterráneo

13 **conbredes:** 'comeredes', comeréis

17 **deslena:** 'deslenar'; Pid (710): "desviar, hacer perder a uno el camino, lo contrario de 'guiar'. Parece compuesto de la partícula des y adelinar, guiar a uno por camino"; **serena:** 'sirena'

CB 383

26 **vallena:** '¿ballena?' El contexto no deja claro el sentido de esta palabra. Tal vez es algo en que se ponen los manjares, como la atacena (cf.). **atacena:** Wortschatz (29), "vasija o marmita en que se contienen los manjares"

27 **malena:** Voz desconocida. Sin embargo, el contexto deja creer que es algún lugar donde se guarda algo en la almena; **almena:** cada uno de los prismas que coronan los muros de las antiguas fortalezas. DCECH sólo menciona que se deriva del antiguo 'mena', del latín mina (I: 190). La mezcla de imágenes de comida y de guerra nos lleva a concluir que estos dos versos, 26 y 27, forman parte de un "disparate trobado" donde se yuxtaponen cosas que no acostumbran tener relación entre sí en el lenguaje cotidiano.

CB 384

30 **"el cornado e la çinquena":** antiguas monedas castellanas (véase CB 161v35)

CB 385

10 curmena: 'cuzmena'; Pid (709), taparabo
29 ssorabar: 'sorrabar'; véase CB 358v36. Pid lo define como mirar debajo del rabo del animal. A nuestro parecer, una definición más exacta sería 'oler el sexo a alguien o a algún animal', lo que nos devuelve al tema de lo bajo corporal y la tradición carnavalesca al que alude Potvin (154).

CB 386

05 arrehena: Pid (705), "rehén". DCECH explica la evolución de esta palabra: "... del ár. vulgar rahán 'prenda' (árabe rahn).... Las formas antiguas del tipo arrehenes se explican por aglutinación del artículo arábigo; de un arrehén o l'arrehén vino luego el género femenino la arrehén y de ahí finalmente la terminación de arrehenas..." (IV: 855).
19 albenicar: Espasa 1 ofrece una palabra 'albanecar' que sería un término usado en la carpintería. No parece la buena definición. Mich, por su parte, transcribió "Albenicar" como si fuera nombre de lugar. No existe y, según parece, nunca ha existido un Albenicar en el mapa. Este vocablo sería otro disparate trobado.
20 çahena: 'zahína', planta anual que se utiliza para forraje
26 "la faena e cordovena": Morgan nos ofrece un comentario extenso sobre estos vocablos disparatados: "The words faena and cordouena are other curiosities... They appear in a poem by Juan García which is characterized by the editors of the 1851 edition as 'toda esta composición es de las llamadas de disparates.' Corominas documents the word faena around 1600 as meaning quehacer or trabajo, but adds, 'No es de creer que tenga que ver con nuestro vocablo la voz faena del Cba, de significado oscuro.' Although many of the words labeled 'disparates' by the editors of the first edition are explainable, in this case they are probably correct" (51-52). Nuestras investigaciones en torno a la palabra 'faena' confirman la posición de Morgan.
27 "e desmelena la carrena": Parece otro ejemplo de "disparate trobado". 'Desmelenar' significa 'descomponer y desordenar el cabello'. Quizá en la época de Baena, también hubiera significado 'cortar el pelo'. Pero carrena queda una voz elusiva. Wortschatz (42) sugiere que este vocablo se relacionaría con la cuaresma y lo define "penitencia hecha por espacio de 40 días". Esta interpretación tampoco satisface al contexto.
29/30 "e pegar / de palos la setentena": En el contexto disparatado de esta poesía quizá signifique 'recibir setenta golpes de palo'.

CB 387

02 agarena: 'agareno', mahometano; descendiente de Agar

15 abuena: de 'abonar', fertilizar

16 crehena: Pid (708), "Adj. aplicado a la luna que está en creciente." Wortschatz (53) lo apoya. DCECH no hace mención de este adjetivo. Sin embargo, el contexto confirma la definición.

24/25 "pues bolvedes / berças con guardamelena": 'volver berzas con guardamelena'; 'guardamelena' es voz desconocida, pero estos dos versos, por el contexto en que se encuentran, parecen aludir a las flemas expelidas de Juan García.

CB 389

07 pelmazo: comida que se asienta en el estómago. En este contexto, parece significar 'dolor del estómago' que uno puede padecer al acostarse después de comer.

CB 390

01 ayna: 'aína', presto. Véase CB 400v13.

02 denuedo: Véase CB 161v03.

03 cuedo: de 'cuidar', opinar

25 marquina: Palabra difícil. Corominas lo relaciona a marga, "especie de arcilla" y propone que pudiera ser errata por "marguina" (III: 565). Añade que la palabra vasca markina "queda lejos" del sentido entendido en el presente contexto.

27 "natas de mohedo": Pid (pág. 685, nota CCXXVII) creó que Mohedo era nombre de pueblo, pero admitió también que pudiera haber originado en la palabra moho. Esto parece más probable y, por eso, hemos transcrito el vocablo con la "m" minúscula. "Mohedo" significaría "conjunto de mohos" or "lugar donde crecen los mohos". Dado el tono burlesco de estas poesías, donde la grosería y la obscenidad desempeñan un papel importante, "natas de mohedo" serán natas hechas con moho o, quizá, natas enmohecidas.

49 adefyna: 'adafina', olla que los judíos colocan al anochecer del viernes en un anafe, cubriéndola con rescoldo y brasas, para comerla el sábado. Esto sirve como otra indicación de que Juan Alfonso de Baena era converso.

60 aljamía: del ar. 'la lengua extranjera': nombre que daban los moros a las lenguas de los cristianos peninsulares

CB 391

01 talvina: *Pid* (719): "Puches, o por otro nombre gachas, hechas de harina, leche y miel (es voz arábiga de *talbin* que significa lo mismo)."
02 bledo: especie de planta que pertenece a la misma familia que las espinacas
03 buxedo: 'bojedal', sitio poblado de bojes
18 "rrarofylos de molledo": la primera voz queda desconocida pero sugiere 'la parte más pequeña del molledo', el cual es la parte blanda o miga del pan; quizá signifique 'migaja'
20 pornía: 'pondría'
23 gualtas: Otra interpretación difícil. Hay una palabra moderna 'gualda' que es una hierba larga que crece en tierras pantanosas. Baena pinta a Juan García en estos versos como una persona muy fastidiosa. Quizá le está diciendo que está tan aburrido que sólo las gualdas, las hierbas del campo, pueden aguantarlo. *Pid* (713), por su parte, cree que *gualtas* es variante de *guarda*, "el que está en acecho". *Wortschatz* (95) sugirió "manceba", pero con interrogación.
25 maetina: Voz difícil, pero relacionada con los 'maitines' del oficio divino. La maetina pudiera ser la monja que asiste a los maitines como ayudante. También pudiera ser igual a la 'monaguesa' (la concubina del sacerdote), acusación hecha por Elena a María en *Elena y María* (v. 277).
28 vespertina: Voz difícil, pero relacionada con la víspera del oficio divino. Por analogía a 'maetina' (cf. arriba), pudiera ser la monja que asiste a la víspera como ayudante. En el contexto presente, no es irrazonable proponer que la 'vespertina' sea igual a la 'monaguesa' (la concubina del sacerdote) en *Elena y María* (v. 277).
31 "cabrón eguedo": 'cabrón adulto'; Morgan ofrece el comentario siguiente: "The occurrences cited by Aguado and the use of *cabron equedo* in the *Cancionero* and *vn equado carnero* in *LBA* seem to indicate two things. First, that Corominas is probably correct in his association of *equedo* and *equado*, but that the word does not refer to a two-year-old goat or ram but, rather, includes anything that has reached full physical development. The exact age of two years is probably a needless restriction or precision of definition but it is understandable in light of the fact that don Pitas Payas had been gone from home for two years..." (61)
37 rrapina: Nepaulsingh, en su edición de Micer Francisco Imperial, propone, con el apoyo de Lida de Malkiel, que 'rapina' es un condimento llamado en el idioma moderno "mostaza de los alemanes" (36n.28)
41 engrudo: masa hecha de harina y agua para pegar papeles; aquí el contexto de 'latrina' sugiere que 'engrudo' será lo que se halla en una letrina, a saber, heces y orina; **latrina:** 'letrina'

43 çerazedo: Otra voz aparentemente disparatada. Morgan comenta al respecto: "The word is clear in the manuscript and transcribed the same in all editons. There is a remote possibility that çerazedo is a place name, but it is unlikely. The concordance contains numerous examples of this type of rare and puzzling words" (53).

55 hedo: Pid (714): "Lo que hiede ó huele mal, corrompido, podrido (de foetidus)."

59 donecar: Pid (710): "Quizá tomar dona, casar." Wortschatz ofrece una definición más acertada: "tal vez a relacionar con el prov. domneiar 'requebrar, galantear'" (68). Es posible que Schmid se basara en Lang, quien sugirió lo mismo en su artículo, "Las formas estróficas y términos métricos del Cancionero de Baena": "En lugar de donecar léase doneiar, conocido verbo provenzal" (522).

61 azina: 'hacina', conjunto de haces; en el presente contexto no parece tener sentido.

62 denuedo: Véase CB 161v03. Aquí, el vocablo parece tener una función adverbial. Según DCECH, "denodar", de donde viene 'denuedo', quiere decir, "ilustrarse por el valor"(II: 443). 'Denuedo' pudiera ser un participio pasado irregular de 'denodar', significando 'valiente'. Queremos reforzar, sin embargo, que esto es conjetura por parte nuestra y que sería más bien uno en la larga serie de disparates contenidos en esta composición. No parece equivaler a 'brío', el cual es la acepción común del vocablo.

63 nuedo: Será otro disparate más. DCECH indica que 'nuedo' es leonesismo por 'nudo'. Añade lo siguiente: "A veces se cita un cast. ant. nuedo, pero sin otro fundamento que un verso de García de Vinuesa en el Canc. de Baena (nº 391, v. 63), donde esta palabra forma una de las rimas rebuscadas y 'ricas' de esta caprichosa composición; pero el sentido de este nuedo, a pesar del glosario, es oscuro" (IV: 425).

CB 392

04 mohyna: 'mohina', enojo

05 ffornezina: Véase CB 367v05.

06 haedo: Pid (714), "cosa fea, torpe (de foedus)". La etimología ofrecida por Pid nos parece un poco dudosa. Existe la posibilidad de que esta voz sea disparate.

07 ençedo: 'enceder', Pid (710): "Pres. de enceder: parece lo mismo que ceder."

17 hazina: 'hacina'; véase CB 391v61.

20 artegrofía: 'ortografía', por metátesis

24 monterya: 'montería', caza de jabalíes, venados y otras fieras que llaman caza mayor

27 peñedo: Wortschatz (126), "peñasco aislado"

28 rraretyna: Según lo notado en el texto, Pid transcribió karetyna y lo incluyó en su Glosario, definiéndolo así: "Parece jaletina hecha del jugo ú sustancia de la carne (en latín bárbaro *garatina* y *galatina*)" (714). A nuestro modo de ver, 'rraretyna' y 'karetyna' (o *garatina*) no tienen que ver el uno con el otro. Sin embargo, 'raretyna' queda ausente de todo comentario lexicográfico; por lo tanto, lo consideramos como voz desconocida.

32 **"corro la curuxía":** 'crujía', 'correr la crujía', según *Pid* (709): "castigo aplicado en las galeras; correr banquetas"

37 **merdezina:** 'medecina'

38 **me arriedo:** *Pid* (705): "Está por arriedro, y es pres. de arredrar, por apartarse, huir de alguna cosa."

39 **gredo:** *Pid* (713), "Lo mismo que grelo, la flor del nabo, que se come en Galicia."

40 **çeçina:** 'cecina', carne desecada; aquí el contexto sugiere que 'cecina' pudiera ser cualquier cosa comestible

41 **somía:** 'sumir', consumir el sacerdote en la misa

42 **maçedo:** 'macedar', mod. 'macear', dar golpes con la maza; fig., molestar repetidamente a uno

43 **troçedo:** 'trocedar', mod. 'trocear', cortar en trozos. *Pid* (720) sugirió erróneamente que sería sinónimo de 'retroceder', con la primera sílaba suprimida.

49 **clavellyna:** clavel

50 **madroñedo:** madroñal

51 **xaras:** 'jara', arbusto

54 **maxca:** *Wortschatz* (112): "[maxcar] v. tr., 'mascar'"

59 **gorgear:** hacer quiebros con la voz; aquí en sentido figurativo, 'reclamar'

66 **rryedo:** *Pid* (718), "risa"

67 **fyedo:** 'hiedo'

68 **malenconía:** Véase *CB* 357v27.

69 **"¡bía, vía...!":** '¡Vete!' Según *DCECH*: "*Vía* se empleaba [en la Edad Media] exclamativamente, sea con el valor de *¡ea!*... sea para exhortar elípticamente a ir a un lugar... sea para indicar, con un infinitivo narrativo, una acción que empieza intensamente (*bía a porfiar*, *bía a llorar*)..." (V: 797)

70 **mangamaço:** 'mangar' es robar, hurtar; 'mazo', en sentido figurativo, es hombre molesto y fastidioso. Con las connotaciones de deshonestidad y molestía, la palabra equivaldrá a 'canalla', 'sinvergüenza'. *Pid* describe la voz en cuestión como "mote injurioso" (715).

73 **quintería:** casa de campo

CB 393

15 **ffuesa:** 'fosa'

22 **pillarte:** Véase *CB* 378v19.

30 **rressavido:** 'resabido', que se precia de entendido

37 **barvecho:** 'barbecho', de 'barbechar'

38 **petrecho:** mod. 'pertrechos', armas; por ext., instrumentos para cualquier operación

54 **mochuello:** 'mochuelo'

55 **señuelo:** cosa que sirve para atraer las aves

CB 394

06 **enpresto:** *Pid* (711), "emplasto"

10 **aviessa:** 'aviesa', mala, mal inclinada

17 **desparte:** de 'despartir', desistir

34 **contrecho:** baldado, tullido

43 **engeñoso:** 'ingenioso'

51 **arañuelo:** red que sirve para cazar pájaros

53 **ahuelo:** '¿ahuello?' Palabra difícil. Es posible que salga del antiguo verbo *afollar*, 'herir', 'echar a perder', el cual, según *DCECH*, "se aplica en particular a cosas, animales y miembros del cuerpo humano" (III: 377). Pudiera ser una especie de trampa o asechanza. En este caso, cabría con los implementos relacionados a la caza en esta estrofa como el arañuelo (aves) y el anzuelo (peces).

60 **azcona:** arma arrojadiza, usada antiguamente

CB 395

06 **malino:** 'maligno', malicioso

13 **pon:** 'pone'; **priesa:** 'prisa'

14 **rremessa:** de 'remesar'; según *DCECH*, basado en el diccionario de Covarrubias y un pasaje del *Corbacho* (1438), el verbo significaría 'acción de arrancar el pelo', lo cual cabe bien en el contexto satírico-burlesco de estas poesías. Sale del latín *messis*, 'acción de cosechar' (IV: 73). No creemos que se relacione con el sentido moderno de remesa, 'devuelta de dineros', del lat. *remittere*.

19 **encarte:** de 'encartar', que, según *DCECH* (I: 898-99), significaba hasta finales del siglo XV "desterrar por alguna falta gravísima"

21 **picarte:** *Wortschatz* (128) sugiere la posibilidad de "pícaro". Sería una explicación verosímil, pero el contexto queda demasiado oscuro para averiguarlo. Por otra parte, quisiéramos sugerir, pero con toda reserva, que otro significado posible sería 'picador'.

23 **basalarte:** *Pid* (706): "Parece ser arma ofensiva y punzante." El contexto no permite acertar si es un tipo de lanza, espada, o saeta. Véase *CB* 431v06, "guardadvos ... de mis basalartes". Otra vez más, el poeta se refiere a su lengua como un arma peligrosa.

24 **pixa:** 'pija', pene

25 **rrebido:** 'rebidar', término relacionado con los juegos de azar (consúltese *CB* 425v12, 'enbidar'), que significa 'apostar sobre lo apostado por el contrario'. Según

Wortschatz, se relacionaría con la palabra francesa *renvi* (137).

32 **femençia:** *Pid* (712), "vehemencia"

33 **despecho:** falta de confianza, desilusión

38 **cohecho:** motivo

39 **mango:** holgazán; **rrehecho:** de estatura mediana, grueso, fuerte y robusto

40 **"pues ora sse beza":** 'pues ahora se besa'

52 **apañe:** de 'apañar', aderezar, condimentar

64 **atahona:** 'atahorma', especie de águila

CB 396

rúb. **affear:** 'afear'; hacer feo, vituperar

01 **alcuz:** 'alcuzcuz'

02 **ffyenda:** 'hienda'

03 **faca:** cuchillo curvo

04 **oroçuz:** 'orozuz', regaliz

05 **buz:** beso de reconocimiento y reverencia

10 **ssymiente:** 'simiente', semilla. La voz tiene el otro sentido más escatológico de 'semen'.

15 **pensantes:** *Pid* (716) y *Wortschatz* (126) dicen que el pensante sería una antigua moneda. El contexto, por otra parte, sugiere que sería más bien alguna poción o bebida, tal vez medicinal.

16 **desleydos:** 'desleídos', diluidos

20 **laçio:** 'lacio', descaecido, sin vigor

23 **pope:** 'popar', despreciar

27 **laçia:** 'lacia'; véase nota 20 arriba.

CB 397

01 **manguejones:** Lo mismo que 'mangón', holgazán, remolón

05 **cazurrya:** 'cazurría', tristeza; de 'cazurro', malhumorado

11 **pazo:** 'paso', en el sentido de cada una de las mudanzas que se hacen en los bailes; aquí en sentido más amplio, sección o división de una canción, poema u obra dramática

13 **tosca:** 'tosco', grosero

19 **xex:** cosa de poco valor; *Wortschatz* (165) dice que "sirve para reforzar la negación"; **pujés:** Véase 358v34. Lo pequeño del pugés es evidente aquí con su significado de "cosa insignificante".

20 **alcuzeros:** 'alcuceros', golosos

21 **pavés:** tipo de escudo

22 **rrehunde:** 'rehundir', volver a fundir o liquidar los metales

25 **melcocheros:** los que hacen melcocha, un tipo de miel cocido
26 **çurran:** 'zurran'; **baldrés:** 'baldés', piel de oveja curtida

CB 398

22 **ventureros:** 'venturero', dícese del que anda vagando ocioso, pero dispuesto a trabajar
23 **plazeros:** 'placero', dícese de la persona ociosa que anda en conversación por las plazas; **punteros:** 'puntero', persona que descuella en cualquier actividad

CB 399

15 **d'yusso:** 'de yuso', abajo
20 **ladina:** astuta, sagaz

CB 400

08 **desacayo:** Pid (709): "Parece estar por 'desacato'"; desdén
11 **ylideza:** DCECH no lo comenta. Pid (720) dice: "Parece lo mismo que 'lidece' (de laetitia), alegría, contento." El contexto parece confirmar esta propuesta. Véase CB 375v08.
13 **ayna:** 'aína', 'aínas'; adv. de modo, 'fácilmente'; en este caso se usa como adjetivo, 'fácil'. Véase CB 390v01.
18 **rraygosa:** con fuertes raíces; aquí en sentido figurativo

CB 401

03 **alimán:** 'alemán'; Baena le llama 'alimán' a Juan de Guzmán por referencia a su apellido de origen godo.
20 **festina:** que tiene mucha prisa, impaciente; forma adjetival del adverbio 'festino' que significa 'de prisa, en seguida'. Sale del verbo latín festinare, 'darse prisa, apurarse'. Corominas lo comenta en una nota al verso 535d del LBA (218): "... voz rara en romance. Hay algunos casos de este adverbio, y del verbo festinar, en la Edad Media y en el siglo XVI, y hoy éste se emplea en algunos países de América; aunque no es seguro dado su aislamiento en las lenguas romances, que fuesen vocablos enteramente populares estos descendientes de los lat. festino y festinare..."

CB 402

01 cayo: 'caigo', tropiezo

04 fargayo: Pid (712): "Ruido confuso, como el que hace una marica u otra ave parlante, jerigonza, jerga."

06 "a profundaría": Pid (705), siguiendo su transcripción del mismo, dice que aprofundaryo es adjetivo significando "profundo". Wortschatz (25) dice que es la forma potencial del verbo "aprofundar" y significa "ahondar". A nuestro parecer, 'profundaría' es sustantivo con el sentido de 'región profunda'.

07 polondarya: A nuestro parecer, un disparate de Baena que significaría 'pataratas, disparates, tonterías'. Ningún crítico lo comenta.

08 cañayo: Voz desconocida. Corominas y Pascual tampoco hacen mención de ella. Es posible que se relacionara con el verbo 'candar', cerrar con llave, ya que vemos el vocablo 'cañado' (mod. 'candado') en Berceo, Vida de Santo Domingo (647d). Tal vez el 'cañayo' sea el que asegura que las puertas estén cerradas de noche. Sin embargo, la relación con el hecho de que el poeta esté "errado" no queda claro.

09 "modo narrabo": lat. 'diré en seguida', 'diré meramente'. El poeta quiere hacer hincapié en su sabiduría al usar una expresión latina incorporada dentro del texto.

12 s'estermina: 'se extermina'

15 d'iusso: 'de yuso'; véase CB 399v15.

20 "por qu'es potençial mas vulla canina": Verso difícil de interpretar y, sin duda, corrompido por el copista. Véase la nota con las lecturas de otros editores. Sin duda, 'vulla' equivale a 'bulla'.

CB 403

15 enfyesta: 'enhiesta'

16 rrebato: de 'rebatir', golpear; **capellina:** parte de la armadura que cubría la cabeza

19 cándida: blanca

20 ssal: 'sale'

CB 404

01 dislayo: 'deslay', tipo de composición poética

02 m'arrayo: 'me arreo'; **jazarán:** 'jacerina', cota de malla

05 alfayo: Pid (704): "El remolino en el pelo de una persona, que antiguamente se creía indicar el humor o condición del indivíduo."

07 péndola: pluma de escribir; **notomía:** 'anatomía', por apócope de la primera sílaba

09 adefyna: 'adafina'; véase CB 390v49

13 endrina: fruta del endrino
15 "c'os lieve": 'que os lleve'

CB 405

03 zarzaán: 'zarzahán', tela de seda
06 estremonía: 'astronomía'
07 jumençía: *Pid* (714): "geomancia"
14 inesta: 'enhiesta'; véase *CB* 403v15.
19 cabtelosa: 'cautelosa'

CB 406

02 diamán: 'diamante'
04 çentrayo: Voz desconocida.
05 descayo: 'descaigo', descaezco
07 ygromançía: A primera vista, puede parecer que el poeta confunda el prefijo griego *higro-*, 'humedad', con *hidro-*, 'agua', y que se trata aquí de "hidromancía". Sin embargo, una lectura quizá más precisa (y contextual), sugerida por el profesor José Varela de la Universidad de Alberta, sería "nigromancía" (del griego *nekrós*, 'muerto'), a saber, la magia diabólica.
08 galayo: prominencia aguda de roca pelada que se eleva en un monte
12 tenina: *Pid* (719) sugiere "tonina", a saber 'atún fresco'.
13 co<n>bredes: 'comeredes', comeréis; véase *CB* 382v13; **guarentyna:** La dos primeras sílabas dejan creer que viene del verbo 'guarir', guarecer, sanar, proteger. Pudiera ser alguna preparación comestible para sanar o proteger el cuerpo, según lo sugiere el contexto.
14 degesta: trabajo, esfuerzo
15 magesta: 'majestad'
16 escofyna: 'escofina', lima

CB 407

01 çobayo: Voz desconocida. *Pid* (709) sugirió "cipayo" admitiendo a la vez incertidumbre, ya que se supone más moderna esta palabra. Sin duda, basado en el contexto, será algún subgrupo o individuo de la sociedad mozárabe o morisca de España o del norte de Africa.
02 e<l>che: morisco o renegado de la religión cristiana; **farfán:** Según Carré Aldao, en su artículo "Juan Alfonso de Baena no fue judío", esta palabra es "el nombre dado en Marruecos a ciertos españoles establecidos allí del siglo VIII al XIV" (262n.). Corominas y Pascual añaden que "habiendo conservado la religión cristiana, regresaron a

Castilla en 1390" (II: 863). Esta palabra vendría del étimo arábigo, firhân, plural de farh, que significa "'hombre vil, cobardo', 'bastardo'" (II: 863).

07 **algaravía:** 'algarabía', lengua árabe; en sentido figurativo, equivale a lengua o escritura no inteligible

08 **langayo:** Según Pid (714), significará "lengua" o "lenguaje".

16 **paladina:** 'paladino', público, claro y patente

20 **çencina:** 'cecina', carne desecada; véase CB 367v08

CB 408

04 **mundayo:** Pid (716) sugiere "persona, individuo". Al examinar el contexto parece más afín a 'criado' o 'lacayo', quizá derivado del verbo 'mondar', limpiar, aunque esto es conjetura por parte nuestra.

05 **calmayo:** Se explica la voz en el verso siguiente, "que es un pescado de los de Luzía."

10 **asper<e>ça:** 'aspereza'

11 **rrueza:** 'rudeza'

13 **"pez de rresyna":** Según indica el profesor José Varela de la Universidad de Alberta, se trata aquí de un juego de palabras. El objeto al que el poeta se refiere en este verso no es "el pez" sino "la pez", a saber, la substancia resinosa y sólida que se obtiene de la destilación del alquitrán. Para continuar en el mismo rumbo, pudiera ser una alusión más específica a la "colapez" o "colapiscis", a saber, la cola de pescado.

14 **s'os pegue:** 'se os pegue'

18 **lybydossa:** Pid (715): "Arbitrario, voluntarioso, lo que no está sujeto a reglas (viene del lat. libidinosus)."

CB 409

01 **picayo:** DCECH indica "pícaro" (IV: 521)

02 **cordová<n>:** 'cordobán', piel curtida de macho cabrío o de cabra

03 **balandrán:** vestidura talar ancha y con esclavina que suelen usar los eclesiásticos

04 **bruçelas:** Wortschatz (38),"'bruçela', tela de Bruselas"

08 **m'atalayo:** 'atalayarse'; según Corominas en LBA, copla 270b, 'atalayar' significa "'columbrar, divisar, ver', cf. cat. atalaiar íd., cat. dial. 'mirar'..."

20 **salvagina:** 'salvajina', conjunto de fieras monteses; en este contexto, el ruido que los mismos hacen

CB 410

05 **lybico:** Parece formado de la misma raíz que "lybydosso" (véase CB 408v18); el presente vocablo significará arbitrio, juez imparcial.
07 **secha:** Pid (718): "Parece formado de secta, como fecha de facta, sevecha de sevecta, etc., vía, manera, modo."
08 **amito:** Pid (705): "Perdido (del lat. amissus)."

CB 411

04 **garlyto:** especie de trampa para pescados
16 **ffyto:** 'hito', mojón para conocer la dirección de los caminos

CB 412

01 **rredutable:** formidable
12 **nasçiones:** La ortografía aquí refleja una etimología corrompida. La palabra no sale del lat. 'nascor', sino de 'natio, nationis', raza. Desde luego, las dos palabras latinas están relacionadas, como vemos en el part. pas. 'natus'. En el poema, 'altas nasçiones' significa 'clase alta', 'de familia buena o limpia'.
16 **salvaçiones:** ayuda, socorro

CB 413

03 **entreduto:** Pid (711), "entroducto, introducido"
14 **refertar:** Pid (717), "reñir, mover reyerta con alguno"

CB 415

06 **xaque:** 'jaque', en el juego de ajedrez
07 **jaque:** en otro sentido, 'valentón, perdonavidas, echado para adelante'
13 **vayo:** 'bayo'
14 **achaque:** vicio, defecto, tacha; en sentido figurativo, 'ocasión, motivo'
15 **almadraque:** DCECH, "colchón para cama o para sentarse en el suelo" (I: 182-83); "quistión de almadraque" equivaldrá a 'debate entre amigos', 'debate festivo de salón'
16 **"syn mescla de ayo":** independientemente; sin que alguien más sabio se mezcle en el asunto. Aquí el poeta busca continuar el tema escolástico empezado en el verso 10 con la alusión a "dos escolares".

20 **"E dóvos plazo abril con el mayo":** 'donde abril y mayo se juntan', 'donde abril termina y mayo comienza', 'la noche del 30 de abril'

CB 416

05 **rretrayo:** 'retraigo'

06 **falsete:** puerta de una hoja entre dos habitaciones; **"juego de escaque":** juego de ajedrez o de las damas; 'escaque' es cada una de las casillas del tablero de ajedrez y del juego de las damas.

07 **levades:** 'llevades'; **baque:** Véase CB 359v20; 'llevar un baque' será 'dañarse', en sentido figurativo.

12 **pycayo:** Véase CB 409v01.

14 **altabaque:** 'tabaque', cestillo de mimbres en que se pone la fruta, verdura, etc.

15 **çumaque:** 'zumaque'; en sentido familiar, 'vino'

19 **envisa:** Véase CB 377v58.

20 **me cayo:** El contexto no deja ver si quiere decir 'me caigo' o 'me callo', pero suponemos que será de 'callarse'.

CB 417

07 **ternía:** 'tendría'

CB 417*bis*

04 **torozón:** Véase CB 81v31.

CB 418

01 **frontero:** caudillo o jefe militar que manda la frontera

03 **"a berengenadas":** 'a los moros'; según la creencia popular los moros (y los judíos) comían mucha berenjena

04 **cabe:** cerca de, junto a

05 **amoryo:** 'amorío', amistad

06 **foder:** 'joder'

07 **rregadio:** 'regadío', terreno que se fertiliza con riego; en el presente contexto, tendrá sin duda un sentido vulgar de 'mierda', 'estiércol' cuyas propiedades fertilizantes estaban bien conocidas entonces

09 **"allende chiquillo":** "cuando erais todavía niño"

CB 419

03 çipotada: 'cipotada', golpe de cipote, que es el palillo del tambor; **atabales:** Véase *CB* 81v26.

CB 420

22 se leza: 'lezar', según *Pid* (715), "lo mismo que 'lexar', que es 'dejar'."

CB 421

04 rrenzilla: 'rencilla', cuestión o riña de la que queda algún encono
06 folgura: 'holgura'
17 femençia: Véase *CB* 395v32.
23 trasuntos: 'trasunto', copia o traslado que se saca del original
27 costribo: *Pid* (708), "pres. de 'constribir', por constreñir o forzar a uno a que haga alguna cosa."

CB 422

07 ornazo: 'hornazo', agasajo que en algunos lugares hacen los vecinos al predicador que han tenido en la cuaresma, el día de Pascuas

CB 423

10 mala: *Pid* (715), "... (del fr. *malle*). Arca de viaje, balija [sic] de cuero para llevar ropa".
11 "fazerle la cala": 'hacerle la cala'. No debe tomarse 'cala' en su aceptación común de 'ensenada pequeña' sino como 'acción de calar una fruta'. Según *DCECH*, 'calar' equivalía a "perforar, cortar un pedazo de fruta para probarla" y cita un ejemplo judeoespañol de Marruecos donde este verbo significa "atravesar" con un objeto cortante o punzante (I: 756-57). Por lo tanto, 'fazerle la cala' significaría 'atravesarle con el cuchillo', 'reducirlo a pedazos cortados'.

CB 424

rúb. afear: Véase *CB* 396 rúb.
11 maginar: 'imaginar'

21 **mangorrear:** por 'mangonear', entremeterse uno en cosas que no le incumben, ostentando autoridad e influencia en su manejo
29 **fustes:** 'fuisteis'
39 **palar:** 'parlar'
40 **gorjear:** Véase CB 392v59.
48 **ssovar:** 'sobar'
55 **almena:** Véase CB 383v27.

CB 425

12 **enbidar:** 'envidar'; lo mismo que 'rebidar' (véase CB 395v25). Enciclopedia indica que tenía el sentido de 'invitar' desde el siglo XIII y que, además, en los siglos XVI y XVII, significaba "ofrecer uno al naipe todo lo que le queda de caudal en la mesa" (II: 1767). Sin duda, tiene que ver más con esta última definición, porque el contexto sugiere algún juego de azar. Véase 'güego de rebidar' en el verso 87 de la presente composición.
13 **ataçena:** Véase CB 383v26.
28 **trena:** especie de bando o trenza que se usaba como cinturón
29 **capellar:** Wortschatz (41), "especie de manto a la morisca"
47 **deytar:** Pid (710), "componer deytados o decires"
76 **sylvos:** 'silbos'
82 **porfaçar:** Pid (717), "profazar", murmurar, blasfemar
87 **"güego de rebidar":** 'juego de rebidar'; véase CB 395v25. Hay que recordar que en el siglo XV, la 'j' era todavía una fricativa palatal sonora. El fonema [g] sería vulgarismo resultado de la fuerte palatalización de la 'j' por influjo de la 'wau' con vocal.

CB 426

07 **despensero:** Véase CB 37v43.
16 **completas:** 'completas', última parte del oficio divino, con que se terminan las horas canónicas del día
22 **cantones:** 'cantón', región, territorio
24 **maginades:** 'imaginades'
27 **pavés:** escudo oblongo que cubría casi todo el cuerpo del combatiente

CB 427

08 **ynsypiente:** 'insipiente'
10 **atreguado:** part. pas. de 'atreguar', dar treguas
16 **verguetas:** 'vergueta', varita delgada

19 **canpero:** 'campero', relativo al campo

20 **mentades:** de 'mentar', mencionar

24 **reptades:** de 'reptar', mod. 'retar', del lat. *reputare*, desafiar, provocar a duelo, batalla o contienda

CB 428

03 **palmatoria:** 'palmeta'

04 **fostigado:** 'fustigado', castigado

09 **adesta:** de 'adiestrar', el sujeto del verbo no queda claro; **caretas:** 'máscaras'

12 **barretas:** *Pid* (706), "pequeñas barras que se fijaban en la parte anterior del casco, y servían para proteger la vista."

13 **maneretas:** diminutivo de 'maneras', se usa aquí en sentido peyorativo

14 **rreblandir:** 'reblandir', reblandecer

15 **levaredes:** 'llevaredes'; **pitança:** 'pitanza', alimento diario

16 **burletas:** diminutivo de 'burla'

CB 429

05 **envyssos:** 'enviso'; véase *CB* 377v58.

11 **ffem<enç>ia:** Véase *CB* 395v32.

12 **abdaçia:** 'audacia'

15 **estruydo:** *Pid* (712), "'estruido', part. pas. de 'estruyr' por destruir."

16 **manpara:** 'ampara', por metátesis

20 **carreta:** 'careta'; véase *CB* 428v09

CB 430

05 **cabeçudos:** 'cabezudo', en sentido figurativo, 'terco, obstinado'

05-06 **"nin todos los ommes que son cabeçudos / non sson nasçidos en día de martes":** sin duda, alusión a algún refrán o dicho popular

07 **pillartes:** Véase *CB* 378v19.

10 **dytar:** 'dictar'

12 **quexura:** 'quejura', queja, quejido

13 **"catat la letura":** mirad lo escrito

14 **defeso:** *Pid* (709), "prohibido, vedado"

16 **escura:** 'oscura'

18 **gineta:** 'jineta', del arte de montar a caballo al estilo árabe, con estribos cortes

CB 431

01 **mucho:** Nótese que no se ha regularizado todavía la separación entre 'mucho' (adj.) y 'muy' (adv.). Aquí el poeta usa 'mucho' como adverbio.
06 **basala<r>tes:** Pid (706): "arma ofensiva y punzante"
07 **rretaçen:** 'retazar', hacer piezas o pedazos de una cosa
08 **engrudos:** Véase CB 391v41. En el presente contexto, equivale a 'emplastos'.
13 **mistura:** 'mixtura', mezcla

CB 432

01 **varascudos:** Pid (720): "tarja, escudo en que se recibía el golpe de la vara o lanza en los torneos"
03 **doral:** papamoscas
04 **sanudos:** 'sañudos', propensos a la saña, sañosos
05 **lavancos:** 'lavanco', pato bravío; **corajudos:** esforzados, valientes
07 **despartes:** Véase CB 394v17.
08 **priessa:** Véase CB 395v13; **gajudos:** Pid (713), "nudoso, lleno de gajos"
11 **levar:** 'llevar'
13 **catadura:** rostro, semblante
14 **pasadas:** huellas; **sahuesso:** 'sabueso'
17 **prieto:** Véase CB 260v14.

CB 433

01 **patudos:** que tienen patas grandes
02 **despalmar:** acción de separar la palma córnea de la carnosa de los animales
03 **trasquilar:** cortar el pelo o la lana a algunos animales
05 **sallidos:** 'salidos', salientes
08 **faldudos:** que tienen mucha falda; usado aquí en sentido cómico
13 **matudura:** llaga o herida que se hace la bestia por ludirle el aparejo
14 **lesso:** 'leso', agraviado
16 **de yuso:** Véase CB 399v15.

CB 434

04 **cojudos:** no castrados, con la masculinidad intacta
06 **varadas:** 'varada', conjunto de los jornaleros que en Andalucía trabajan en las casas de campo bajo la dirección de un capataz; **talabar<t>es:** Véase CB 378v18.

07 **aduartes:** 'aduares' (de 'aduar'); conjunto de tiendas o barracas de los gitanos
15 **baldreso:** 'baldresar', Wortschatz (33), "azotar con baldrés o zurrar"
18 **burleta:** Véase CB 428v16.
20 **ladr<a>ltura:** corrupción de 'ladradura', ladrido

CB 435

04 **enbudos:** Voz desconocida. Wortschatz (59) sugiere que se transcriba "denbudos", sin apóstrofo.
05 **galludos:** 'galludo', especie de pez
06 **espadartes:** Pid (711), "lenguado", otra especie de pez
09 **mangamaço:** Véase CB 392v70.
14 **modorio:** 'modorro', inadvertido, ignorante
14-15 **"...que ansy tesos pesos / darte un baque por su contrapesso...":** Parece que falta el auxiliar 'han' en el verso 15, "darte han..." en el sentido de "te darán"; para 'baque', véase CB 359v20.
18 **bruneta:** Pid (707), "paño de color pardo, muy oscuro, y que tira a negro"
20 **asadura:** entrañas

CB 436

01 **anejos:** Véase CB 161v34; **talludos:** que han echado tallo grande
05 **bermudos:** Voz desconocida.
14 **alhynde:** Wortschatz (19), "acíbar". En este contexto tendrá un significado figurativo de 'amargura, disgusto'.
17 **visura:** tipo de máscara
18 **jaldeta:** Según Corominas en el LBA (copla 1254b), significa "cuadro" o "manchón" de color amarillo (jalde).
20 **escotadura:** corte en el vestido por la parte del cuello

CB 437

08 **carajudos:** 'carajudo', que tiene grande el sexo; el poeta preferiría debatir con "diez mill carajudos" que con hombres "orejudos" o "de piernas çancudas"
12 **conostría:** 'conocería'; **desenboltura:** 'desenvoltura', desvergüenza
14 **enpresso:** Wortschatz (75), part. pas. irregular de "emprender"
15 **linueso:** simiente de lino
18 **jaqueta:** 'chaqueta'

CB 438

04 **plomudos:** 'plomudo', plomizo

07 **baxartes:** Voz de interpretación difícil. *Pid* (706) sugiere que "pudiera estar usado por 'bajas artes'", mientras que *Wortschatz* (34) propone con interrogación "'ballarte [bayarte] o parihuela del escudo'?" De las dos posibilidades presentadas, la de Schmid parece más probable.

08 **dentudos:** de dientes desproporcionados

09 **lystadura:** Martín Alonso da "acción y efecto de listar" (II: 2586). En este sentido, sería sinónimo de 'lista'. El contexto no rechaza esta definición, pero tampoco la confirma.

12 **hura:** grano maligno que sale en la cabeza

13 **¡guarte!:** interjección, '¡guárdate!', '¡guarda!'

15 **patiteso:** 'patitieso', de manera inesperada, con sorpresa

16 **vissadura:** 'visadura', máscara

17 **çercadura:** 'cercadura', cerco

18 **barreta:** Véase *CB* 379v30 y 428v12.

19 **atura:** 'aturar', pararse súbitamente, acabar

CB 439

01 **altitudos:** *Pid* (704), "adj. aplicado a los dichos: altisonante, pomposo"

03 **porqueryzo:** 'porquerizo', porquero, en sentido peyorativo

04 **çertitudos:** acertados, pulidos, limados

05 **fortitudos:** que tienen fuerza

08 **çamarrudos:** 'zamarrudo', de 'zamarro', hombre tosco y rústico; en este contexto, el sentido de 'çamarrudos' será 'vulgares' o 'crudos'

13 **<ç>arpadura:** 'zarpadura', zarpa, acción de zarpar

18 **xeta:** 'jeta', hocico del cerdo; en el presente contexto, 'cosa de poco valor'

CB 440

16 **azcona:** arma arrojadiza; véase también *CB* 394v60.

CB 441

05 **escura:** 'oscura'; véase *CB* 430v16

06 **"omme diosso":** 'dioso', *Pid* (710): "hombre entregado a Dios"

10 **"*dum* *steteris*":** del Oficio Divino, 'hasta que te hayas levantado o puesto de pie'

13 "mirum est lyngua estar oçiossa": otra expresión sacada del Oficio Divino; equivale a 'es una cosa maravillosa la lengua'; el verso tiene el sentido de 'es una cosa maravillosa una lengua inactiva', virtud a que deben aspirar las mujeres, en los escritos de la época

15 vergonosa: 'vergonzosa'

18 "en la delantera": 'en seguida'

CB 442

02 engeñosso: Véase CB 394v43.

08 conortoso: Pid (708), "Conortar. Que también se dijo conhortar (de confortar), equivale a consolar, ayudar, reanimar." De ahí que 'conortoso' significa 'agradable, cómodo, que da confortación'.

16 harona: DCECH dice que equivale a "haragana", y que sale del árabigo harûn, "(animal) repropio, que no quiere andar" (III: 315).

19 çivera: 'cibera', todo género de simiente que puede servir para mantenimiento y cebo

20 athaona: 'atahorma', ave rapaz; véase CB 395v64.

CB 443

06 meryno: 'merino'; véase CB 366v09.

CB 444

rúb. adessinos: Voz desconocida. El contexto deja creer que significaría 'mismos' y Pid, Mich y Az todos transcribieron 'messmos'. No parece relacionado con el adverbio 'adiesso' que vemos en Berceo (Milagros de Nuestra Señora, copla 677b) y que equivale a 'en seguida'. Por otra parte, es posible que pudiera estar derivado del adjetivo latín adhaesus, 'que adhiere' y equivaldría a 'que adhiere a los consonantes' (aunque admitamos que la evolución natural de la palabra daría *ad[h]ieso). La ausencia de comentario sobre esta voz en los diccionarios etimológicos se deberá sin duda a la transcripción errónea de los otros editores.

05 se amostaze: de 'amostazarse', en el presente contexto, 'mezclarse'

CB 445

06 rrefez: Pid (717) dice que es lo mismo que "rafez", que significa "bajo, vil, despreciable".

07 defez: Voz desconocida.

CB 446

04 **se apelmaze:** de 'apelmazarse', hacer que una cosa esté menos esponjada de lo requerido

12 ***nichil*:** del lat. *nihil*, 'nada'

CB 447

05 **talante:** voluntad, deseo

15 **rrenzilla:** 'rencilla'; véase *CB* 421v04

16 **apuesta:** adornada, elegante

CB 448

12 **presta:** dispuesta

20 **amorío:** Véase *CB* 418v05.

CB 449

13 **estonçe:** 'entonces', del lat. *ex* *tuncce* (*Gram. hist.*, párr. 128.2)

CB 450

08 **conçilla:** *Pid* (708), "razón, causa, pretexto"

20 **lealtanza:** lealtad

CB 451

04 **rrençilla:** Véase *CB* 421v04.

CB 452

01 **aduay:** *Pid* (703), "paño fabricado en Douay, ciudad de Flandes"

02 **verdegay:** de color verde claro

15 **talente:** 'talante'; véase *CB* 447v05.

20 **quartana:** 'cuartana', calentura o fiebre que entra con frío, de cuatro en cuatro días

46 **prieto:** Véase *CB* 260v14.

47 **peto:** armadura u otra protección para proteger el pecho; **garrancho:** *Wortschatz* (92) cita *Aut.*, el cual lo define como "'el ramo quebrado de algún árbol o cosa semejante'"

48 **"rremira de gancho":** *Pid* (713) y *Wortschatz* (91), "mirar de reojo"

62 **chançones:** del francés _chanson_, 'canción, canto'. Consúltese nuestra nota en el texto poético.

_CB 453_

rúb. quartanario: que padece cuartana; véase _CB_ 452v20; **"que se rremenbrase d'él":** que se acordase de él
05 **rredutable:** Véase _CB_ 412v01.
11 **correnҫia:** 'correncia', diarrea
30 **vegadas:** veces, momentos
34 **comedio:** espacio de tiempo que media entre dos épocas
36 **puxavante:** 'pujavante', instrumento que usan los herradores para cortar el casco de las cabellerías
49 **triaca:** poción, jarope
50 **conpús:** 'compuse'
52 **"que se vos mienbre de mí":** que os acordáis de mí

_CB 454_

23 **librea:** traje que los príncipes, señores y algunas otras personas o entidades daban a sus criados
27 **rreguardatvos:** guardaos, protegeos

_CB 455_

03 **dehesa:** tierra generalmente acotada y por lo común dedicada a pastos
04 **morzilla:** 'morcilla', imagen grotesca de la mula muerta en el campo, ya no más que una gran salchicha rellena de sangre coagulada y entrañas pudridas
07 **avilessa:** 'avilesa', de Avila
15 **presto:** Véase _CB_ 448v12.
20 **sobruna:** 'sobruno', _Pid_ (718), "lo que sobra o está demás"

_CB 456_

rúb. péndola: Véase _CB_ 404v07.
20 **enbolt<e>rio:** 'envoltorio', paquete, bulto
38 **borruna:** Véase _CB_ 261v25.
39 **mazorral:** grosero, rudo

_CB 457_

11 **synrrazón:** 'sinrazón'; véase _CB_ 160v24
13 **rremenbrado:** acordado

22 **borruna:** Véase CB 261v25.

30 **"condestable de alta luna":** Es un juego de palabras sobre el nombre del condestable, don Alvaro de Luna.

32 **alvalá:** 'albalá', carta o cédula real; Baena sin duda busca un albalá que le otorgue algún beneficio económico.

CB 458

rúb. aguilando: Véase CB 358v23; **"conde estable":** 'condestable'

CB 459

07 **"quier burlando, quier rriendo":** 'ora burlando, ora riendo'

CB 460

03 **"conde estable":** Véase CB 458 rúb.

04 **"que non se engorre":** 'que no tarde en ...', 'que se esfuerce por...' Cf. copla 30b de las Trescientas de Juan de Mena (ed. de Blecua).

06 **balandrán:** Véase CB 406v06.

CB 461

04 **"sal e donayre":** gracia en el hablar

07 **"a rrepresa":** 'a represa'; con dificultad, despacio

CB 462

rúb. aguilando: Véase CB 358v23.

01 **rredutable:** Véase CB 412v01.

06 **"se mienbre":** se acuerde; véase CB 453v52

CB 463

02 **rredotado:** dotado, regalado, provisto

05 **atentado:** dotado

15 **sonsyego:** 'sosiego'

17 **pujante:** que tiene pujanza, a saber, fuerza

20 **talante:** Véase CB 447v05.

24 **"luego luego":** Véase CB 179v14.

CB 465

05 **enbolt<e>rio:** Véase CB 456v20.
19 **"passo a passo, quedo a quedo":** con cuidado y determinación

CB 466

21 **jazaranes:** Véase CB 404v02.
23 **arrayanes:** 'arrayán', mirto, murta
34 **"azul d'Acre":** 'Acre' es alusión a San Juan de Acre, que fue sede principal del ejército de los cristianos en las cruzadas. El 'azul d'Acre' será hoy lo que se llama 'azul de ultramar', el lapislázuli pulverizado que se usa mucho como color en la pintura (cf. Espasa 1, págs. 52, 184).
39 **magnifiesta:** 'manifiesta'
45 **lybrea:** 'librea'; véase CB 454v23.

CB 467

02 **boça:** 'boza'; DCECH, "matorral, roza" (I: 648)
12 **rremenbrança:** 'remembranza', recuerdo

INDEX OF WORDS FOUND IN THE LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES

In this index, words have been listed alphabetically using the following standards:

1) Words beginning with doublings of "f", "r", or "s" are alphabetized as though they are spelled with a single consonant. Doublings of "f" or "s" are always treated as if they were with one "f" or "s".

2) Words beginning with a vocalic "y" [i] are alphabetized with the i's.

3) All ç's followed by "a", "o", or "u" are alphabetized with the z's. All other ç's are treated as c's.

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